C.R. Hall

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLII *October 1958* NUMBER 4

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CENTRAL PARK WEST AND 77TH STREET

NEW YORK 24, N. Y.

The New-York Historical Society Quarterly is published in January, April, July and October by The New-York Historical Society at 170 Central Park West, New York 24, N.Y. The Society does not assume responsibility for statements made by contributors. Yearly subscriptions are $3.00; individual copies, 75 cents. Entered at the New York Post Office as second-class matter.

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VOLUME XLII OCTOBER 1958 NUMBER 4

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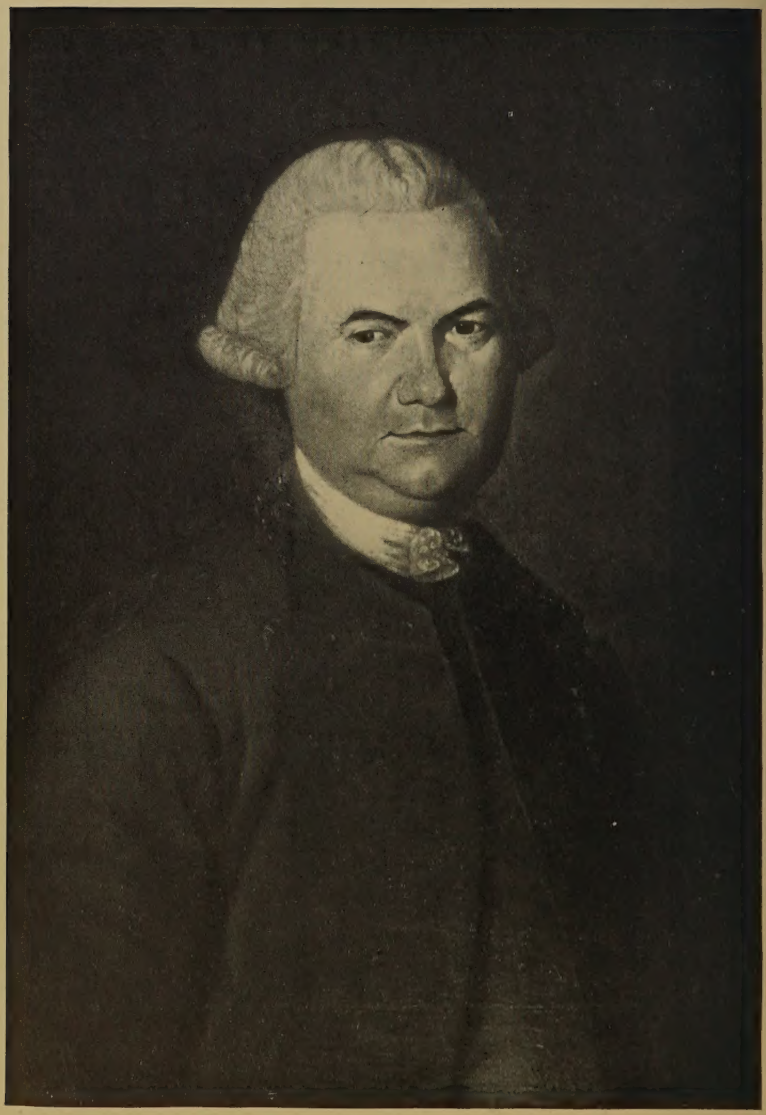
CONTENTS

A New Portrait of Sir William Johnson . MILTON W. HAMILTON 317
American Press Reports of the French Revolution, 1789–1794 . . . . . BEATRICE F. HYSLOP 329
Two Early Visitors to Mount Vernon . . . . . R. W. G. VAIL 349
Through the Atlantic States to Cuba in 1852 . . JOHN E. PARSONS 367
The Stocking, Hood and Mockason Society of New York, 1814–1815 . . . . . RAY W. IRWIN 387
An 18th-Century Connecticut Valley Doorway . RICHARD J. KOKE 402
Book Reviews and Notices:
Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma* . . . . . BRADFORD SMITH 409
Leach, *Flintlock and Tomahawk* . . OLA ELIZABETH WINSLOW 410
Peckham, *The War for Independence* . . . . RICHARD J. KOKE 411
Patterson, *Knight Errant of Liberty* . . WILLIAM B. WILLCOX 411
Alden, *The South in the Revolution* . . . . PETER J. PAULSON 413
Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans* . DAVID L. STERLING 414
Powell, *The Books of a New Nation* . . . . JAMES B. CHILDS 415
Gilpin, *The War of 1812* . . . . . RAY W. IRWIN 416
Waggoner, *The Long Haul West* . . . . . BLAKE MCKELVEY 417
Smith, *Magnificent Missourian* . . . . . RAY W. IRWIN 418
Taylor, *William Page, the American Titian* . THEODORE BOLTON 420
Putnam, *Theodore Roosevelt, Volume One* . . R. W. G. VAIL 421
Summers, ed., *Cabinet Diary . . . 1896–1897* KENNETH R. WALKER 423
Comstock, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Antiques* . C.E.B. 424
Peterson, *American Knives* . . . . . RICHARD J. KOKE 425
Lunt, *The Farmers Bank . . . 1807–1957* . . . . . C.E.B. 426
A History of John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated . . . C.E.B. 426
Davis and Meyer, eds., *The Writing of American Jewish History* . . . . . C.E.B. 427
Parker, *New England Miniatures 1750 to 1850* . . . . C.E.B. 427
Pohl, *The Vikings on Cape Cod* . . . . . C.E.B. 428
Romig, ed., *Year Book of the (Collegiate) Protestant Church of the City of New York, Vol. XV* (1955–1958) . . . C.E.B. 428
Index to Volume XLII (January–October 1958) 432



SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON (1715–1774)
Life portrait, *c.* 1772–73, attributed to Matthew Pratt
Owned by N.Y. State Education Department at Johnson Hall

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

October 1958

VOLUME XLII NUMBER FOUR

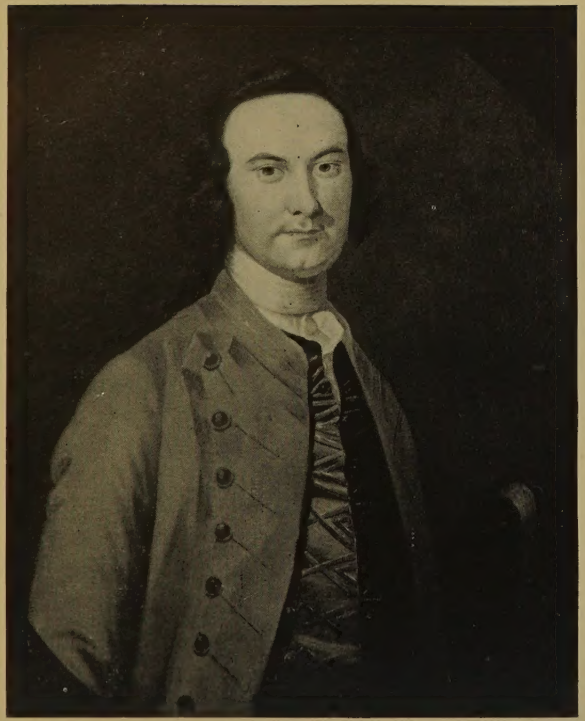
New York: 170 Central Park West

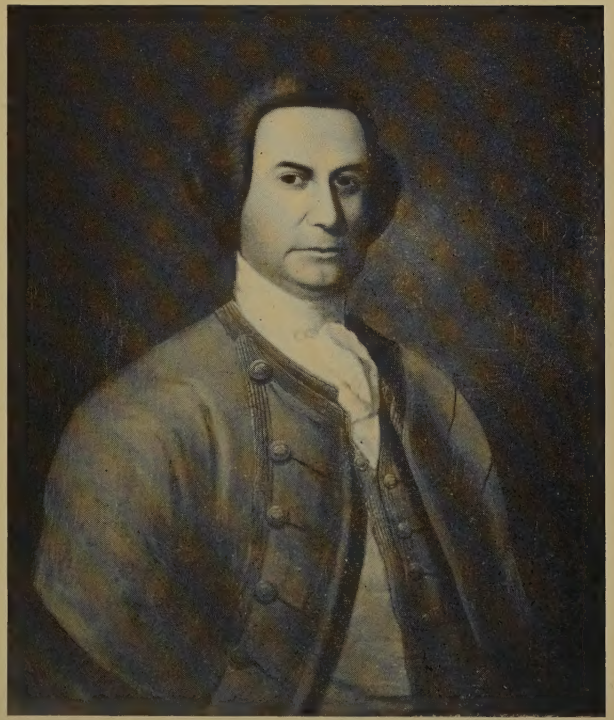
A NEW PORTRAIT OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

by MILTON W. HAMILTON*

STUDENTS of Sir William Johnson (1715–1774), eminent Colonial official and landowner, best known as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, have been puzzled by the various portraits and engravings which purported to be his likeness. Only one portrait, that by Wollaston, at the Albany Institute of History and Art, is a thoroughly documented original, and for some years the painter was unknown. Since this was purchased in Ireland in 1921, and came from Warrenstown, the ancestral home, with the accompanying letter with which Johnson presented it to his father, there is no doubt about its authenticity. After its arrival in this

* Dr. Hamilton, Senior Historian in the Division of Archives and History, University of the State of New York, State Education Department, Albany, is the editor of Vols. X–XII of *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* and of articles on Sir William, including a study of his library which appeared in this *Quarterly*, July 1956, pp. 209–251.





SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON (1715–1774)

By John Wollaston, 1751
Albany Institute of History and Art

After Thomas McIlworth, 1763
The New-York Historical Society

country it was identified by art experts as the work of John Wollaston, Jr., who was active in America 1749–1767.[1] Sir William commented that the shoulders were "narrow hanging," whereas his were square and broad; but this was a characteristic of many of Wollaston's portraits.[2] For a while, Johnson scholars were bothered by a yarn in the biography of Johnson by Augustus C. Buell, of a portrait painter called "Mrs. Julia Grant," who was quoted as having visited Johnson in 1750; but Buell has been exposed as an author of hoaxes, and his "documents" as forgeries.[3]

A better known portrait of Sir William is that in The New-York Historical Society. This painting is a copy of the lost original by Thomas McIlworth, who was painting in this country 1758–1769. The copy was made for the historian William L. Stone (1792–1844) about 1840, and from it an engraving was made for the biography, completed by his son William L. Stone (1835–1908), and published in 1865. This is the accepted likeness of the Baronet, and the identification of the painter of the original as Thomas McIlworth is supported by many references in the *Sir William Johnson Papers*. These and other facts about the painter have been marshalled by the art critic William Sawitzky.[4]

Contemporary portrait engravings of about 1756, which were widely published, may have been derived from another original portrait which has not been identified. Or they may have been taken from descriptions, not from life, in order to capitalize on Johnson's sudden fame after his victory at the Battle of Lake George in 1755.[5]

[1] *Sir William Johnson Papers*, II, frontis. See also introductory essay in this volume, "Portraits of Sir William Johnson," by James Sullivan, pp. ix–xii, and correspondence in the files of the Division of Archives and History.

[2] William Johnson to Christopher Johnson, *Johnson Papers*, I, 929–31. For an analysis and facsimile of this letter, see my article in *Autograph Collectors Journal*, Spring 1952.

[3] See my articles: "Myths and Legends of Sir William Johnson," *New York History*, July 1953, pp. 3–26; and "Augustus C. Buell, Fraudulent Historian," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October 1956, pp. 478–92.

[4] Susan Sawitzky, "Thomas McIlworth," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, April 1951, pp. 117–39.

[5] These engravings are described in the article by James Sullivan, *Johnson Papers*,

Hence, the discovery of another original likeness of Sir William may be regarded as a major event in historical and artistic criticism. In 1956 the New York State Education Department acquired for its historic site, Johnson Hall, the home of Sir William Johnson, three portraits owned by the Johnson family in England. Two were pastels of Sir John Johnson and Lady Mary Johnson; the third was an oil of Sir William. These had been owned by Colonel Charles Christopher Johnson (1789–1854), fifth son of Sir John Johnson, and by his grandson, Major Frederick Colpoys Ormsby Johnson (1858–1932), from whom State Historian James Sullivan learned of them.[6] When the writer took up the task of editing the *Sir William Johnson Papers* he began a correspondence with Brigadier Guy Ormsby Johnson, son of Major F. C. O. Johnson, and owner of the portraits. This pleasant contact resulted in a visit at his home in Fleet, Hants, England, in May 1956. Subsequently Brigadier Johnson sold the portraits to the State of New York to be exhibited in Johnson Hall. It is a source of regret that shortly afterwards, in January 1957, Brigadier Johnson died of a heart attack.

Despite the family ownership of the portrait of Sir William there was hesitancy on the part of the State Historian to accept it as authentic. In April 1921 Major F. C. Ormsby Johnson had written of the portrait: "It bears no signature of artist that we can trace, and as it was varnished and [re]touched (not very cleverly) some years ago, the signature, if it ever existed, would have been discovered, I think, by [the] artist who touched it up."[7]

Photographs sent over then and later disclosed a countenance which bore no resemblance to the other portraits of Sir William. At the acquisition of the portrait, it was understood that some work of restoration would have to be done. This work of remov-

I, ix–xii. The head detail from the 1756 engraving for the *London Magazine*, from the print owned by The New-York Historical Society, is reproduced herein for comparison with Johnson's features as depicted in the three portraits in oil.

[6] Correspondence, 1921–1922, in the Division of Archives and History, Albany.

[7] *Ibid.*

ing the over-painting and revealing the true original was entrusted to Mr. S. J. Fishburne. He carefully removed repainting that had been done some forty or fifty years ago. The result was a revelation to everyone. Even the restorer had not expected to find such an original. Whereas the expression had been stiff and wooden, it was now seen to be warm and human. Under a narrow Roman nose was found one that was full and broad. Some lines, like those of the jowls, had been completely painted out; the eyes had a different aspect, and the background, too, was found to be in greater contrast. What had appeared like a mediocre work began to show signs of being the work of a skilled artist.

The portrait, which measures 30 by 25 inches, shows the subject, head and shoulders, with a white wig and wearing a red court coat with gold facings. The vest is buttoned to the top and the white neckcloth has a small rosette. The background is greenish black, but somewhat lightened to set off the outlines of the head. Delicate flesh colors of the face were somewhat lost by the in-painting of the restoration, so that the face is a trifle grayish. The eyes are brown, and more like those of the earlier Wollaston portrait than the beady eyes so characteristic of the McIlworth.

Without hesitation, the writer concluded, "This is really Sir William." The same features could now be discerned in three paintings—the Wollaston, the McIlworth, and this last-found portrait; although obviously each represented a different period in the life of the subject. The Wollaston portrait was painted in 1751, when Johnson was a young man of 36, full of vigor and not yet famous. The McIlworth portrait is dated 1763, when Sir William was at the height of his power and influence. It shows a man of great strength of character and virility, of dominating presence. The third shows an older man, with white wig, more mellowed countenance, somewhat stout as the result of advancing years. The questions now arise: By whom was it painted, and when?

A limited number of portrait painters are recorded as having worked in Colonial New York during the pre-Revolutionary decade so that a tentative decision on which of them painted this late Johnson portrait might be reached by the process of elimination;[8] or by discovering what painter was available, and then by making comparison with his known work. This can be done by studying the documentary record.

An art critic who had done much to identify the Albany Institute portrait as a Wollaston was John Hill Morgan (1870–1945). In the analysis of the Wollaston, and incidentally of the McIlworth, whose painter was not then known, it was conjectured that the portrait owned by the family in England was the original from which that commissioned by Stone was taken. This is now known to be untrue. In a letter dated December 31, 1923, Morgan wrote to State Historian James Sullivan:

> Regarding the old portrait owned by Frederick C. O. Johnson, have you considered the possibility of its being by Matthew Pratt? Pratt went abroad in 1764 to study under West, and remained in England until 1766, when he returned to Philadelphia, practicing his profession until March, 1770, when he again returned to England for a few months. We know he was in New York in 1772 and painted for the Chamber of Commerce the full length of Cadwallader Colden. I am inclined to this attribution.[9]

The possibility narrows down to the years 1772–73. In the latter year, more exactly July 22, 1773, Sir William crossed from Manhattan to Brooklyn, on his way from Albany to Long Island, where he stayed several weeks for his health. He had been urged by his agent Hugh Wallace to come down, and had written, "I have many inducements for going to New York."[10] In March

[8] The artists whose known presence in New York in the late 1760s or early 1770s makes them candidates for such elimination were Cosmo Alexander, John Singleton Copley, Abraham Delanoy, Lawrence Kilburn, Thomas McIlworth, John Mare, Matthew Pratt, and William Williams. Examples of their New York portraits of this period are extant and available for comparison. Nicholas Vanderlyn and his father Pieter, both then of Kingston, left no known portraits from those years. Of course, other artists, not now identifiable, may well have visited the Colony briefly during Johnson's last years.

[9] Correspondence, 1921–1922, in the Division of Archives and History, Albany.

[10] *Johnson Papers*, VIII, 300–301, 801, 806, 838.

1773, however, Pratt was advertising his wares in the Williamsburg *Virginia Gazette* and proposing to spend the summer at Hampton, but he may have been back in New York when his son Thomas was born there, October 1, 1773.[11] In 1772, when Pratt was painting in New York, Sir William did not visit the city, but many New Yorkers visited Johnson Hall, and it is not inconceivable that an itinerant painter might have followed. In fact the royal governor, William Tryon, in the summer of 1772 spent two weeks at Johnson Hall, officiating at the dedication of the new buildings of Tryon County, and carrying on business about land grants. He was accompanied by two councilors and a number of others. What more logical than that Sir William should have been limned at that time?[12]

The attribution is rendered more likely in that Matthew Pratt's friends and clients were well known to, or friends of, Sir William. Cadwallader Colden was his frequent correspondent. James DeLancey (1732–1800), another subject painted by Pratt, had campaigned with Johnson at Lake George and at Niagara. If Sir William stopped in New York, he might well have seen these prominent citizens.

An even closer connection between Pratt and Sir William may be suggested by Pratt's autobiographical notes. In a somewhat sketchy account of his career, obviously written some years afterward, Matthew Pratt made the following comment for the year 1768:

. . . had a very agreeable passage to Philada where we arrived May 30th and began my professional line, at the corner of Front & Pine St where I met my old and good friend, the Revd Thomas Barton of Lancaster, who came purposely to introduce me, to Governor Hamilton, Governor

[11] William Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt 1734–1805* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1942), 27, 29–30. This excellent analytical study is the basis for the following argument for the attribution to Pratt.

[12] *Docs. Rel. Col. Hist. N.Y.*, VIII, 303–10; *Johnson Papers*, VIII, 562–64. Hugh Wallace wrote that he would like to accompany the Governor. A craftsman who used the opportunity to solicit Sir William's patronage was Samuel Edge, swordmaker. *Johnson Papers*, XII, 980.

Johnson, Mr. Jno Dickinson, Mr. Saml Powell, and all the Willing family, the Clergy & &c. among whom I met full employ, for 2 years. . . .[13]

Now the Reverend Thomas Barton (1730–1780) was a frequent correspondent of Sir William, and was especially interested in Sir William's plans for Indian missionaries and schools. He visited Johnson Hall in 1765, and in 1767–68 he tutored Sir William's half-breed son, William of Canajoharie, and wrote reports of his progress. In these years, too, he recommended and sent to Sir William, farmers and craftsmen to settle on the lands near Johnstown. He several times referred to his visit at Johnson Hall and his desire to make another.[14] It would seem quite logical that if he were to recommend a portrait painter to worthy subjects, he would not overlook such a significant patron as Sir William.

Yet there is something enigmatic about the above autobiographical scrap. As it reads, the persons mentioned were patrons of the artist in the years 1768–1770, although the entry does not rule out the possibility that some of them may have been painted later. Sawitzky identifies portraits of Mrs. Samuel Powel (two, dated *c.* 1793), Mrs. Charles Willing (dated *c.* 1784–85), and Mrs. William (Mary Willing) Byrd III (dated *c.* 1773); lists as unlocated a portrait of Governor James Hamilton; but makes no mention of portraits of John Dickinson or "Governor Johnson."[15]

Who was this "Governor" Johnson? There was no such governor in colonial Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, or Maryland. Governor Robert Johnson (1682–1735) of South Carolina was too early. Perhaps this autobiographical scrap, taken from a typescript made in 1892 before the original was destroyed by

[13] Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt*, 20. The original manuscript of Pratt's autobiographical memoranda, owned by his great-granddaughter, was destroyed by fire a few years after Charles Henry Hart, in 1892, made a typescript of it which was published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (January 1895) and then given by him to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This typescript was followed in the source here cited. Sawitzky, *Pratt*, 17.

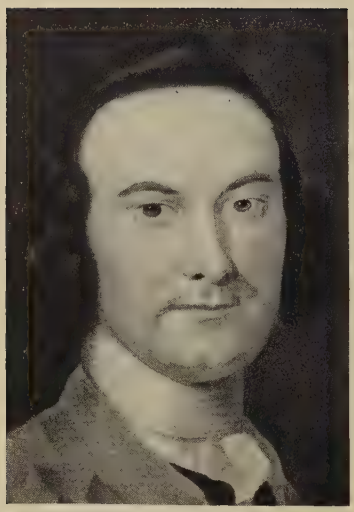
[14] Letters of the Rev. Thomas Barton to Sir William, *Johnson Papers*, IV, 865–68; V, 604–605, 843–48; VI, 170–72; VII, 390–91, 810–14; VIII, 181–85; XI, 954–55.

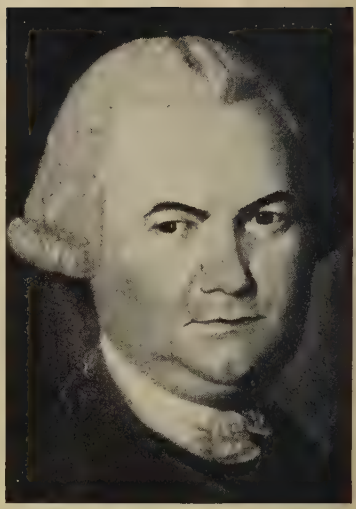
[15] Sawitzky, *Matthew Pratt*, 60–62, 79–80, 82.

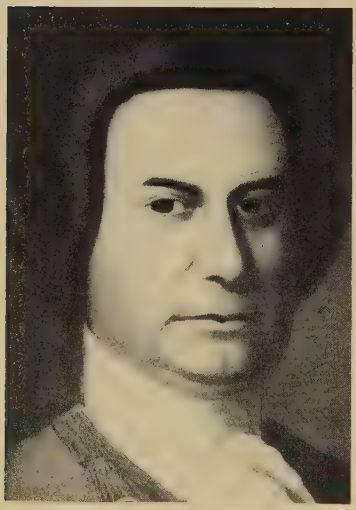
fire, contained a mis-reading. Sawitzky says of it, "there are several obvious repetitions, misspellings, and errors; and what were evidently superior letters in the original manuscript are not so indicated in the typescript."[16] If the title given Johnson and transcribed as "Governor" had been abbreviated in Pratt's original, it might conceivably have been "Genl." instead of "Govr." and misread by the transcriber as the latter. Sir William was often called General during his lifetime. It is possible, however, that because of his superintendency of the Six Nations or perhaps because he had been mentioned as a candidate for appointment as Royal Governor of New York, Pratt unconsciously or by way of compliment did refer to Johnson as Governor. In any case, there appears to be no other person to whom Barton or Pratt might logically have referred by the name of "Governor" Johnson. It is a plausible assumption, therefore, that the Reverend Thomas Barton recommended Matthew Pratt to his friend and correspondent, Sir William Johnson.

Conviction that this portrait of Sir William is by Matthew Pratt must rest not only on the documentation, but also on a study of the painting. Examining the portrait, we find that the age of the sitter would fit into the conjecture that it was painted in 1772–73. Then Sir William would have reached the age of 57; he would have been eight or nine years older than he was in the portrait by McIlworth. In the meantime he had failed in health, due to numerous ailments, and the effect of the ball in his thigh, lodged there at the Battle of Lake George, and which had given him increasing difficulty, so that he could no longer ride, or travel easily. He usually went by boat or by carriage for short distances. No doubt he had put on weight. His face was fuller, the jowls and lines more prominent; but he had also mellowed (as it is also apparent from his letters), and was not so stern or commanding as he was in 1763. All of these characteristics are noted in the portrait.

[16] *Ibid.*, 17.







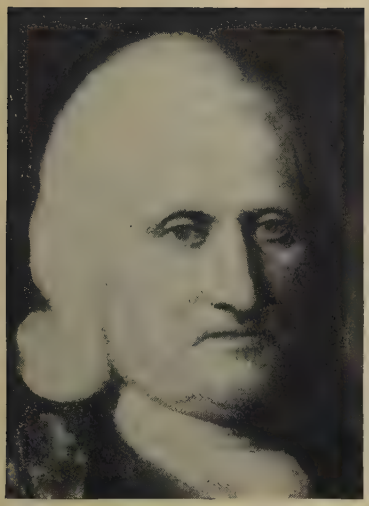
DETAILS FROM PORTRAITS OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

Top: By Wollaston, 1751

Bottom: After McIlworth, 1763
(Copy by unknown artist, *c.* 1841)

Top: Attributed to Pratt, 1772–73

Bottom: Engr. from unknown portrait
for the *London Magazine*, 1756



DETAILS FROM PORTRAITS BY MATTHEW PRATT

Cadwallader Colden, *c.* 1774–75
Owned by Mr. de Lancey Kountze

Dr. Alexander Shearer, *c.* 1772–80
Owned by Mr. Herbert L. Pratt

The writer makes no claim for this portrait based on artistic criticism, a task which he gladly refers to others. Yet a comparison of the portraits which Sawitzky has attributed to Pratt and this portrait of Sir William reveals a few common traits. The rendering of chin, mouth and eyes is similar. The somewhat chalky high-lights on the lace and hair are done in the same way, notably as in the Pratt portrait of Dr. Alexander Shearer. The modeling of the face is like that in the portraits of Colden and DeLancey; and there is some resemblance to Pratt's portrait of Benjamin Franklin.

With far more documentation than is available for many other portraits, it seems quite logical to attribute this one to Matthew Pratt, thus fixing on the period in which it was done. It now hangs in the Blue Parlor of Johnson Hall, Sir William's last home, and is an appropriate reminder of the activities of his last years.

"THE TIMES: A POLITICAL PORTRAIT" OF 1794: At the right, Gallatin, Genêt, and Jefferson are trying to "Stop de wheels of de government," represented by the cabriolet being driven by President Washington. The editor of the pro-French, anti-administration [Philadelphia] *Aurora*, a copy of which lies under the cocked leg of the foreground dog, is being trampled by the militiamen called up by Washington to suppress the Whiskey Rebellion and its pro-Jacobin leaders. At the left, "The Cannibals are landing" in a supposed intrusion by French privateers and agents provocateurs.

AMERICAN PRESS REPORTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789–1794*

by Beatrice F. Hyslop

Professor of History, Hunter College, New York City

A HALF CENTURY before the inauguration of George Washington in New York, the Zenger trial had set the precedent and the legal basis for the development of freedom of the press, not only in New York, but also in the other English colonies. By 1789, freedom of the press was included among the principal freedoms to be guaranteed in our American "Bill of Rights." The year that inaugurated the American Republic and opened the French Revolution found the American press more fully developed than that of any other country, with the possible exception of Holland.

The mushroom growth of papers during the American Revolution had declined somewhat during the intervening period, but more than sixty newspapers were being published in the United States in 1789. This was a large number for a population of four million, with only ten towns of over 8,000 population. Statistics published in the October 14th issue of the *Gazette of the United States* indicated that a national total of 76,438 copies of weekly newspapers were then being published (nearly four million copies annually). This would provide one copy per week for approximately every fifty inhabitants, including women, children and slaves—certainly a higher percentage of reader-coverage than could be found for any other country. A newspaper was started at Lexington, Kentucky, when there were fewer than 800 inhabitants. New York City alone, with a population of 32,000, could boast of seven papers in 1789, of which three were dailies: the *New York Daily Advertiser*, the *New York Daily*

* An address delivered before members and guests of The New-York Historical Society, March 4, 1958.

Gazette, and the *Morning Post*. Many more papers would be started before the French Revolutionary era was over.[1]

What was a typical newspaper like in 1789? A typical paper in any United States town comprised four folio pages, with the first page given almost entirely to advertisements. Since the original purpose of newspapers was mainly to provide information for merchants, these advertisements listed ships for sale, cargoes, imported goods, land and house sales, and in the Southern papers an occasional notice of a runaway slave. On the second page were European news items, and on the third American—national and local. The last page might carry notices of trials, mortgages, commodity prices, incoming and outgoing ships, legal notices, and more advertisements. Far more attention was given to foreign than to American news until the year 1791, when internal politics became controversial and events in Europe were not quite so spectacular as in 1789. After the French Revolutionary war broke out in 1792, foreign news again outweighed domestic. Events in Europe were less remote to Americans who had recently won independence than to 19th-century nationalists, pushing our frontiers westward.

The kind of impressions Americans were receiving about France on the eve of the French Revolution may be learned from advertisements of books and other imported goods, and from the scanty news items about the court. A list of books for sale by James Rivington, in the *New York Daily Gazette* of February 10, 1789, offered numerous works by French authors, including the *Mémoires* of Sully, Molière's plays, and Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*. And, alongside more numerous advertise-

[1] Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690–1820* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1947), 2 vols. See also: Frederic Hudson, *Journalism in the United States, from 1690 to 1872* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1873); Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (Worcester: 1810; 2d ed., Albany: J. Munsell, 1874), 2 vols.; George Henry Payne, *History of Journalism in the United States* (New York & London: D. Appleton & Co., 1920); James Melvin Lee, *History of American Journalism* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917, rev. ed., 1923; rev. ed., Garden City Publ. Co. [1936]); Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States . . .* (New York: Macmillan, 1941; rev. ed., 1950).

ments of British imports, the *New York Daily Advertiser* of June 4, 1789, gave an extensive list of French goods for sale: for women—black satins, silks, laces, silk serges, gauze handkerchiefs, ribbons, silk stockings, kid gloves, umbrellas, and calicoes; for men—painted vest patterns, hats, black silk handkerchiefs, broadcloths, watch chains, breeches. Miscellaneous items were also listed: lute strings, artificial flowers, and feathers, wall paper, and red paint. No perfume! French perfumes have become famous since the 19th century. All these imports were luxury articles or fine-quality wearing apparel.[2]

An anonymous article entitled "A Sentimental Traveller," which had appeared in the November 15, 1788, issue of the New York *American Museum* and was reprinted verbatim in the *Kentucky Gazette* of March 15, 1790, illustrates a number of points. There was a time lag between events in Europe and the arrival of news at an American seaport. News travelled in the United States more rapidly by water than by land. While news reported in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia appeared almost a week later in Baltimore, or three weeks later in Charleston, South Carolina, it took two months for news to reach Lexington, Kentucky, from the seaboard. In the present case, however, the reprint occurred sixteen months after its original. The article, which first appeared before the beginning of the French Revolution, referred to conditions of the Old Regime society, some of which had certainly changed by 1790 when the article was republished:

> . . . As a nation, we ought to form some national customs, and not be eternally subservient to those which prevail abroad. A few leading men in each town, by setting the example, might effectually destroy this health drinking custom.
>
> The table customs of France are worthy of imitation, for they are (if I may use the expression) refined into rural ease and simplicity, the essence of true politeness. The most agreeable and happy hours of the gay lives of the French are spent in a large circle nearly divided by each sex: while we

[2] See also Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1777–1799: Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1954), x, 7 [14], 27, 78 [226], 323 [1081], 326 [1088].

are cloyed with ceremony and form, they enjoy the rich luxury of perfect freedom and social ease. If the company is composed of both sexes, each gentleman places himself between two ladies. . . . The lady of the house pays as little attention to her guests as if she was one of the number; every gentleman from his situation is attentive only to the two ladies on each side of him whom custom has committed to his charge; and instead of formal harangues and abstrusities (too common on such occasions in America) the position of the females in France imposes a barrier between the males, and divides the conversation with a lively vein of pleasantry. . . .

In America, a stranger is often introduced into a room of new faces, and separately to each individual, his personal situation on this occasion is extremely awkward, and embarrassing—and it never fails to fill a continental European with disgust. In France, a stranger is introduced to a company collectively—and in a few minutes, he becomes a member of the company at large entirely at his ease with all around him. . . .

Toast drinking formerly prevailed in France, but is now totally abolished; however, as this custom seems congenial with the genius of America it is probable it will remain a national custom.

In America we keep up the line of separation between the sexes even after dinner; the ladies, at a certain signal, file off to a separate room, when the men unbend in their conversation as if a weight had been removed from them. In France, so much of the happiness of the people depends on the mutual intercourse between the sexes, that they rise together retiring into another room, to drink coffee, and divert themselves in the most agreeable manner.

I have often reflected with astonishment, how effectually we were blinded by the veil of English illiberality. Their travellers have uniformly reported France as a nation of frog-eaters and detestable cooks—making soup out of the bones they pick up in the streets. Having resided several years and travelled through the greatest parts of France and England, I can venture to affirm, that excepting the fourth class (the peasantry), the people of France enjoy the luxury of rich living and good wines, both in variety and quantity far beyond the English. The fourth class are the peasantry, who cultivate the soil and who live in the utmost indigence, but when the English travellers draw general conclusions from one class of the nation only, they ought, at the same time, to reflect how their fellow citizens' condition subsist in the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland.

In short, the English are rapt up in ideas of the importance and dignity of their country, and unwilling to allow merit due to other nations. (A Sentimental Traveller, New York, November 15, 1788).

It is possible that the *Kentucky Gazette* reprinted this description of French life less in a supposition of its current accuracy than in

a hope of stimulating emulation of it on the frontier. Another article, in the *Gazette of the United States* of June 13, 1789, citing Martin Sherlock's *Letters from an English Traveller* (London: 1780), praised the French and especially the graces and intelligence of French women. These descriptions reflected French salons of the 18th century, and not the bourgeoisie, town workers, and peasantry who were to carry on the Revolution.

In the spring of 1789, the opening of the American Congress and elections for the French States-General were going on simultaneously. Reports of the latter were beginning to appear when Washington was inaugurated in New York in April 1789. The States-General had not yet begun to function as the National Assembly when the *Gazette of the United States*, on July 28, 1789, exclaimed: "THE ERA OF FREEDOM, OF UNIVERSAL LIBERTY! She first broke her chains in the Western World, and having fixed her temple in our favored country she is spreading her salutary reign throughout the world. Europe bows to her sway." The *New York Daily Gazette* (September 2, 1789) attributed an important influence to the French soldiers who had fought in the American War of Independence. After reporting the victory of the Third Estate over the privileged orders (June 1789), the following quotation appeared in at least three newspapers (which doubtless borrowed it from a single source) – the *Gazette of the United States* (New York, September 2d), the *Daily Advertiser* (New York, September 3d), and the *Maryland Journal* (Baltimore, September 4th): "Liberty will have another feather in her cap. The seraphic contagion came to the United States from England across the Atlantic. Now the flame will be communicated to France." American papers were unanimously in favor of the revolutionary changes instituted in 1789, and predicted their spread to other parts of Europe. Many papers expressed the idea first phrased in the Charleston *City Gazette* of June 19, 1789, that the "eyes of Europe are on France."

The news coverage of the capture of the Bastille on July 14, 1789, illustrates many features of the reporting from France dur-

ing the French Revolution. As with other reports of the dramatic days of the Revolution, the Bastille account was published in instalments determined by the piece-meal arrival of the news and the date of publication of the newspaper in relation to the arrival. The first meagre report, arriving from San Sebastian, Spain, in only thirty-five days—one of the quickest transatlantic voyages recorded to that date—appeared in Philadelphia papers on September 15th *(Pennsylvania Packet)*, and in New York papers on September 16th and 17th. There was but a single paragraph, the substance of which was: Violence, 7,000 dead, and the Bastille destroyed! After months of favorable comment on the changes going on in France, this startling news must have had a tremendous impact. The exaggerated number of dead (the National Assembly's act for indemnification refers to only 120) was never subsequently corrected. American readers were naturally eager for further news.

The second instalment arrived from London, which received its news from Paris in from two to four or five days—not longer than the time-lag for many provincial French towns. Reports from English papers were printed by the *New York Daily Gazette* on September 17th and by the *Gazette of the United States* on September 19th. The former also printed on September 25th, and was followed by other papers, parts of an article from the *Révolutions de Paris*, one of the most important Parisian papers before the *Moniteur universel* began in November 1789. Similar news appeared in Boston on September 19th, in Baltimore on September 22d, in Philadelphia and Charleston on the 23d, and in the *Kentucky Gazette* on November 21st.

Throughout September additional news appeared from French papers, letters to the newspapers, and reports of travellers arriving from Europe. In October, a summary of the capture was given by most papers. In several, an episode of a Mr. White as one of the liberated prisoners was printed. This was, doubtless, the basis of the plot for Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities*. The general verdict on the capture was that the people were the hero of this

stroke for liberty. On October 2, 1789, the *New York Daily Gazette* stated that the Bastille had been captured "by a militia without leader, without discipline or military training," and went on to claim that this event illustrated the power of liberty and of heroism under her banner. The American papers recognized the capture of the Bastille as a symbol of liberty and democracy. (They did not, however, view the Parisian uprising in October of the same year nearly so favorably.[3])

An article entitled "Observations on the Revolution of the French Nation" (*New York Daily Gazette*, October 19, 1789) is representative of American optimism concerning the implications of events in France during this early period of the Revolution:

> The government of France having late undergone a very considerable change, similar revolutions may be expected in other parts of Europe. Whether the flame of patriotism had been kindled in that country by the sacred breath of genuine liberty, or by the unhallowed blasts of insidious faction, time alone will be able to discover. If kingly despotism is to be depressed merely for the sake of advancing the interests of aristocracy, it may be justly questioned, whether human nature will be thereby benefited? Be the event what it may, certain it is, that the rights of men are now in part understood in regions, inhabited by many millions of beings where, but a few years ago, such rights were not even suspected to exist. . . .

Here the author points to Spain, Portugal, Germany, and Russia as nations whose slumbering subjects might well awaken to this dawn of liberty, and to Switzerland, Venice, Genoa as places where former revolutionary movements, having failed to achieve the freedoms sought for, might be stirred to new and more successful efforts. The article then proceeds:

> Some will lament in silence, others . . . will assert not only the name, but the rights of freemen; and with that warmth which not many years ago, animated virtuous Americans, demand, receive, and enjoy, a restoration of liberty on the basis of perfect equality.

[3] For example, see the *New York Daily Gazette*, quoting London on November 24, 1789, which stated that "the fate of Europe depends on the actions – of a barbarous and unrestrained Mob!" The *Gazette of the United States* of December 19, 1789, noted the increased emigration and a consequent loss of economic wealth to France.

After long debate, the National Assembly adopted in August 1789 the "Declaration of the Rights of Man." American papers ascribed an influence to the English Bill of Rights of 1689, rather than to American State bills, which historians now believe to have been influential.[4] Many of the papers gave the seventeen articles of the French Declaration, and approved of its adoption. On October 24th and 29th, respectively, the *New York Daily Gazette* and the *New York Journal* stated:

> Their declaration of the rights, natural, unalienable and sacred, of man, is truly admirable; and the end they have in view, in publishing that declaration is equally so!—We cannot refrain from quoting verbatim their fourth article [*asserting the object of government to be the common good of all and laws to be valid only when approved by the representatives of the people*]. . . . The flame of liberty expands itself from city to city, and from country to country.

The author went on to praise the dignity, disinteredness, and wisdom of the French legislators as compared with British parliamentarians. A year later (November 3, 1790) the *Gazette of the United States* stated that the French were giving great publicity to the Declaration by printing it in the center of handkerchiefs of which a huge quantity had been sent to the Frankfort Fair so that the people there, whose government restricted the importation of books through a severe censorship, might nevertheless obtain copies of it.

Following the adoption of the Declaration of Rights, the National Assembly proceeded with the drafting of the Constitution, applying its provisions as individually adopted, without waiting until the instrument could be promulgated in its entirety after its completion in 1791. American papers, commenting on these separate Constitutional provisions as the news of each arrived, approved the limitations on the King's power, although they were sympathetic to Louis XVI for his aid toward our own independence. Like the English they proved skeptical of the

[4] See, for example, the *New York Daily Gazette* of September 28, 1789, which mentioned the publication of a French translation of the English Bill of Rights. No mention was made of the American Bill, as an influence.

unicameral legislature provided by the Constitution but approved its establishment of an independent judiciary. American papers were naturally less critical than the British of the abolition of titles of nobility and provincial privileges; in fact, many expressly approved of it. On the whole, such criticisms of the French constitutional reforms as did appear in the American press were in articles quoted from English papers rather than in contributions by American writers.[5]

In November 1789, measures were begun in France against the Catholic Church. American newspapers responded with articles praising religious toleration from both American and British sources and with general applause for the anti-papal measures designed to reduce the political power of the Catholic Church. They approved of the use of Church property for securing the assignats issued to remedy the financial situation. Numerous witticisms at the expense of the Catholic Church were printed. The *New York Daily Gazette*, for instance, changed the well-known adage to read: "An ounce of wisdom is worth a pound of clergy."[6]

Early in 1790, with Hamilton's new fiscal policies stirring up partisan conflict in America, the debates of Congress and other national events came to occupy preferred newspaper space, and editors began to take sides for or against Hamilton's program. This partisanship was partially reflected in the treatment of the news from Europe. Stories from *émigrés* who had escaped to England and who naturally gave unfavorable reports of events in France alternated with accounts of the debates in the National Assembly or in the provinces of France. Excerpts from the pamphlet warfare then going on between Edmund Burke and Joseph

[5] The *New York Daily Gazette*, October 24, 1789, quoted London to the effect that the National Assembly consumed too much time on theory and "Utopian plans of reform," whereas the *New York Journal*, October 29, 1789, praised their wisdom and claimed the British incapable of disinterested discussion of fundamentals.

[6] The *New York Daily Gazette*, November 3, 1789, and also, the *New York Journal*, November 26, 1789, and *Gazette of the United States*, March 31, 1790, and miscellaneous issues of all three papers during 1790 and 1791, when the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was being enacted.

Priestley or, later, Thomas Paine, were also printed. The first copies of Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution* arrived in December 1790—the month in which the United States government was transferred from New York to Philadelphia. Fenno's *Gazette of the United States*, which had contained such lyric praise of events in France in 1789, followed the government to Philadelphia and became the outstanding spokesman of Hamiltonian conservatism and critic of French changes. Not all American papers, however, extended their developing partisanship on American issues coincidentally to their treatment of the French Revolution. The same paper might publish simultaneously an article denouncing and one praising some event in France. Advocacy of the rights of man, of popular sovereignty, and of the worth of the individual was strong in all the American papers.[7]

Republican sentiment as regards French developments, however, was slow to be voiced in America. The flight of the royal family in June, 1791, was given extended coverage. American papers were more skeptical of the King's subsequent oath to uphold the Constitution of 1791 than were French papers. But the American press distinguished between Louis XVI, the King who had aided the revolting English colonies, and the institution of monarchy. Few names of French leaders were used in the reporting, but American gratitude for Lafayette's role in our Revolution led the American papers to assign great prominence to his leadership in the French Revolution—greater perhaps than was actually the case.[8]

[7] For conflicting reports in the same issue of a paper, see, for example, opposing views from English and French news sources in *Gazette of the United States*, March 5, 1791; also praise for Mirabeau at the time of his death, and a quotation from Calonne, a leader of *émigrés*, condemning the "horror" of the French Revolution, in the *New York Daily Gazette*, June 4, 1791.

[8] On the flight of the King, see *New York Daily Gazette*, August 23–September 14, 1791, or the *Gazette of the United States*, publishing then in Philadelphia, August 27–September 3, 1791.

On Republicanism, it must be remembered that Montesquieu used the term "république" not so much to designate an elective headship of the government as opposed to a monarchy, as to designate good government by the civic-minded people. He and other philosophers of the 18th century used "republic" about as we would "representative democracy." Many followed Montesquieu, on both sides of the Atlantic, in looking upon democracy or a republic as impractical in a large state.

After Fenno's *Gazette of the United States* had moved to Philadelphia and become the mouthpiece of Hamiltonian domestic policy, a rival Jeffersonian paper, the *National Gazette*, was inaugurated there in October 1791, and Freneau, its editor, used wit and satire to discredit Fenno's position. Their long journalistic duel over domestic policy prepared their readers to take sides on attitudes toward the French Revolution. The *National Gazette*, which espoused the cause of the frontiersmen, was also sympathetic toward the common people of France and critical of the French *émigrés*. The *Gazette of the United States*, on the other hand, which had more concern for the interests of eastern merchants and financiers than for the frontiersmen, took a more sympathetic view of the French *émigrés*.[9]

When the French Legislative Assembly declared war on Austria in April 1792, the news broke without preparation. Most American papers considered the war inevitable, praised the French soldiers as champions of liberty, and, remembering American experience with mercenaries in the War of Independence, denounced the current use of them by European monarchs. Little sympathy was expressed for the Swiss guards that were massacred during the attack of August 10, 1792, on the Tuileries, and the use of mercenaries by the Austrian and Prussian monarchs did not win friends in the American newspapers.[10] On June

French distrust of other European monarchs and praise of the American republic fostered a growing uncertainty in America over the soundness of monarchy in France. On November 26, 1789, the *New York Journal* suggested that the removal of the King to Paris after the October Days might result in greater emphasis upon "the rights of nature" against "encroachments of prerogative." It was more particularly after the flight of the royal family that American papers advocated a republic for France. See *New York Daily Gazette*, December 5 and 15, 1790, the *National Gazette*, November 10, 1791, the *Gazette of the United States*, March 14, 1792, etc. Republican sentiments were also revealed through quotations from Paine against Burke: see *New York Daily Gazette*, May 7 and 11, 1791, and every issue of the *National Gazette* after its first issue on October 31, 1791.

On the popularity of Lafayette see Charleston *City Gazette*, September 24, 1789; and on the changing attitude toward him consult the same for March 5, 1791 and September 8, 1792, or *New York Daily Gazette*, March 7, 1791.

[9] See *Gazette of the United States*, April 23, 1791, October 3, 1792, and *National Gazette*, December 1, 1792.

[10] Reports of the outbreak of war appeared in New York and Philadelphia papers on June 11, in Boston, June 13, and Baltimore, June 13, 1792. (Pertinent issues of the

25, 1792, the *National Gazette*, and on June 27 its opponent, the *Gazette of the United States*, both printed a dispatch claiming that the dissemination of copies of the French Constitution by the advancing French army, as ordered by the Legislative Assembly, would be more effective than "the fire of all the artillery of Europe." The latter had received this report from Dublin, whose papers were often more favorable to the French Revolution than the English papers.

American papers were naturally happy when the French National Convention declared France to be a Republic in September 1792. Henceforth, France and America were regarded with satisfaction as sister republics. The trial of Louis XVI was reported much as it was in the French or English papers. Although sympathy for Louis continued there was universal acceptance of his action as treasonable. The *New York Journal* (December 26, 1792, and April 3, 1793) declared that the trial aligned the friends of the rights of man against the despotism of kings. On February 6th, this democratic paper had published false news of an acquittal of the King, received from Dublin. After learning its mistake, it was loath to admit the condemnation and execution until confirmation had been received from several sources. Most American papers, in their reports at the end of March 1793, lauded the King's bravery at his execution,[11] but the *National Gazette* (April 17, 1793) was of opinion that too much sympathy had been expressed for him, and explained this as due to English newspapers as sources. This passage was quoted by the *New York Journal* on April 24, 1793. Both of these were Jeffersonian papers.

Kentucky Gazette are missing.) Note comments on the war in the *Gazette of the United States*, June 30, 1792, *National Gazette*, July 3, 1793, and *Boston Independent Chronicle*, May 26, 1794.

The *National Gazette* (November 3, 1792) accused the Swiss guards of being drunk on August 10, the *Columbian Centinel* (September 29, 1792) of cruelty, and the *Gazette of the United States* (October 10, 1792) of firing first.

[11] For sympathetic views toward Louis XVI in his trial and execution, see *Gazette of the United States*, March 6–27, March 30 and April 3, 1793, and the *New York Daily Gazette*, February 9–March 22, and April 3, 1793, and the *Kentucky Gazette*, April 13 and 27, 1793.

News of the extension of the European war to England and Holland arrived at about the same time as Genêt's landing (April 1793) in Charleston. War between England and France had far greater consequences for the United States than the war against Austria and Prussia, for its naval character involved American commerce and led to Washington's declaration of neutrality on April 22d. Nevertheless, the sentiment of the American people at that time, as reflected in the press, seemed to be overwhelmingly pro-French. Genêt, then making his triumphal journey from Charleston to Philadelphia, was being feted and encouraged by Francophiles to believe that the American Republic would aid French republicans against monarchs. Jacobin clubs on the pattern of the Parisian one were formed by enthusiastic friends of France in the cities and towns through which Genêt passed. An interesting story could be written based upon reports of the toasts drunk at these Jacobin parties and receptions—toasts to the two Republics, to Liberty, to Equality, to Lafayette (although his desertion was hard to excuse and his name gradually disappeared), and to numerous other heroes and ideals.[12]

No wonder Genêt became convinced that the official policy of neutrality did not reflect the sentiments of the country. But in August, when Genêt appealed over the head of Washington to the American people, even Jefferson, who had been a warm friend of France, felt constrained to warn Genêt and to agree with Washington to ask for Genêt's recall. Before the year was out, however, Jefferson resigned as Secretary of State. Most of the Jacobin clubs, too, passed resolutions acquiescing in the neutrality laws and affirming their patriotism, but they also remained pro-French. But with the suspension of publication of the *National Gazette* in the fall of 1793 because of the yellow

[12] For the enthusiastic reception of Genêt see, for example, *New York Journal*, June 8, 1793, and *National Gazette*, June 5, 1793. On the resignation of Lafayette and his later defection see the *New York Daily Gazette*, June 17 and July 4, 1791, the *New York Journal*, October 10, 1792, and the *National Gazette*, May 18, 1793. For symbolism and toasts, especially in connection with the Bastille celebration in Boston, see the *Columbian Centinel*, July 16 and 26, 1794, the *Independent Chronicle*, July 17, and the *Gazette of the United States*, July 22, 1794.

fever then raging in Philadelphia, the French Revolutionary cause lost an able defender. At the same time, more and more French refugees from the West Indies were arriving in American ports, bringing adverse accounts of the influence of liberty there. And Genêt, armed with commissions he had brought from home, had stirred up a ferment of opposition by his attempts to fit out privateers and to enlist personnel to fight for France.[13] The *Gazette of the United States*, which had become more and more hostile to France, said of Genêt (January 6, 1794) that he had come "with peace in his mouth, and war in his pocket."

The interruption of shipping by the naval warfare of 1793–94 not only damaged American mercantile interests but also led to silences and gaps in the reporting of European events. Details of combats near American shores were given, with a pro- or anti-French slant, depending on the prior domestic politics of the newspaper.[14] The *Gazette of the United States*, the *New York Daily Gazette* and the *Columbian Centinel* were generally unfavorable to the French by now, whereas the Boston *Independent Chronicle* and the *New York Journal* were friendly. The Baltimore and Charleston papers were friendly until the danger from slave uprisings turned them to sympathy with French landowner *émigrés* and against the Jacobin officials who were blamed for the disorders in French West Indies. The chief reports from Europe concerned the fighting, and, except for the Civil War in the Vendée, less and less news of events within France was reported. Thus, while American newspapers in 1789 had approved of the preliminary maneuvers in the States-General towards the

[13] On resolutions of American loyalty see *Gazette of the United States*, August 4, 1793, January 1 and 11, 1794, August 26, 1794. For continuing sympathy for Genêt and his cause, see *Baltimore Intelligencer*, November 5, 1793. For opposition to Genêt, see *New York Journal*, August 31, 1793, and *Gazette of the United States*, January 30, 1794. On revolutionary action in Saint Domingue, see *New York Daily Gazette*, as early as February 27 and June 30, 1790, and the *National Gazette*, October 12, 1793. The *New York Journal*, June 25, 1794, mentioned the founding of a society to help *émigrés*. On Genêt's Instructions see *Independent Chronicle*, January 13, 1794.

[14] Compare, for example, accounts of a combat between the French man-of-war *Ambuscade* and the British *Boston Frigate* as reported by the *National Gazette*, August 3, 10, 17, 1793, with the slight notice by the *Gazette of the United States*, August 3, 1793.

abolition of feudalism and slavery, nothing was said in our press of the final extinction of those evils by laws recently passed by the National Convention. The metric system and the Revolutionary calendar were reported only briefly. Decrees of the National Convention on education were given.[15] An American reader of 1793–1794 would have had but little idea of the transformation then going on in France.

Whereas more attention had been paid by American papers to the treason of Dumouriez than to the expulsion of the Girondists from the National Convention, their trial and execution in October 1793 were reported briefly as just desert for leaders who had been corrupted or engaged in treason.[16] Much more space was devoted to the trial and execution of Marie Antoinette than to that of the Girondists. Not only were long articles carried on a succession of days, but considerable sympathy for the fallen Queen (less, however, because she was the Queen than a woman) was expressed, irrespective of the political opinion of the newspaper.[17] The executions of the radical and atheistical Hébertists and of the Dantonists, although a month apart (March and April, 1794), were reported very nearly at the same time in American newspapers, where the verdict of guilt and treason went unchallenged and the leadership of Robespierre ignored.[18]

The four months of Robespierre's domination of the Committee of Public Safety, of his leadership in the Jacobin Club, and of his overriding influence in the National Convention, received somewhat more attention in American papers than had other

[15] For abolition of feudalism, see papers during October 1789, especially the *New York Daily Gazette* of October 27, 1789; for the Metric System, see *Gazette of the United States,* December 18, 1793, and for the decrees on education, *idem,* February 6, 1794.

[16] See *New York Daily Gazette,* January 22, 1794, *Gazette of the United States,* January 28, February 7 and 24, 1794, *Baltimore Intelligencer,* January 29, 30, 31, and February 1, 1794, and *Independent Chronicle,* January 23, 1794.

[17] See *New York Daily Gazette,* January 19, 1794, *Gazette of the United States,* January 11, 13–17, 27, 1794, *Baltimore Intelligencer,* January 16 and February 4, 1794, *Columbian Centinel,* January 11–25, 1794, and *Independent Chronicle,* January 13, 1794.

[18] See *New York Journal,* June 11, 1794, *Gazette of the United States,* May 29, June 4, 6, 10, 1794, *Columbian Centinel,* June 4, 14, 1794, *Independent Chronicle,* June 12, 1794, and *New York Daily Gazette,* May 29, 30, and June 3–5, 1794.

internal affairs since the beginning of war. Robespierre's speech on the principles of Revolutionary government, made on December 25, 1793, foreshadowed his ideals. This was reported in the Boston *Independent Chronicle* of June 16, 1794:

> The theory of a revolutionary government is as new as the revolution that produced it. . . . The office of government is to direct the moral and physical force of the nation to the end of its institution. The aim of constitutional government is to preserve the Republic; that of the revolutionary government to lay its foundation. The Revolution is the war of liberation against its enemies; the constitution is the government of liberty, at once victorious and at peace. . . . [The constitution's] principles are founded on justice and public order. . . . Its aim is public welfare. . . .

Few Americans would have disagreed with this ideal. Robespierre's speech in the Convention on the worship of the Supreme Being was reported in full in the papers of July 1794, and was generally applauded as proof that the French were not such atheists as the anti-Jacobin papers had claimed. Similarly, his long speech on public morals and festivals was also given by pro- and anti-French papers alike.[19]

By this time there was a general resurgence of support for law, order, and central authority on the domestic front which carried over to attitudes toward the *de facto* administrations of France. Even newspapers whose original sympathies had been with the opponents of the liquor excise now ranged themselves, in their reports on the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania, on the side of the Federal government. This same attitude was manifested in the American papers toward the Vendéan rebels: Law and the central government of France must be upheld.[20] This may be, in part at least, why Robespierre's public utterances were treated so respectfully in the American press.

[19] See, for example, *Columbian Centinel,* July 23, 26, 30, and August 23, 1794, and *Independent Chronicle,* July 24, August 4, 25, and September 4, 1794.

[20] See various issues of *National Gazette* and *Gazette of the United States,* and also the *Columbian Centinel* versus the *Boston Independent Chronicle,* during the months of August–September, 1793, and the *Gazette of the United States,* August 9, 12, 15, 1794. On the Vendée, see *Independent Chronicle,* June 30, 1794, and *Gazette of the United States,* September 7, 1793, January 11 and July 11, 1794.

American attitudes on domestic problems also colored press reactions to Robespierre's downfall, as reported during the week of October 6–13, 1794. French and English papers were quoted verbatim to tell the story of his fall. His overthrow was attributed to his alleged factiousness and ambition. As the spirit of faction had been denounced in the party quarrels within the United States, so the accusation against the French leader that he and his followers had failed to put national welfare ahead of faction was accepted as sufficient explanation and as valid cause. Far less detail was given on the actual government of the Terror than on the government set up by the Thermidorians that overthrew Robespierre.[21] The attention given to Robespierre's speeches and to his downfall bears ample witness to American recognition of his importance in the Revolution. Soon, however, it would be the Jay Treaty which was stirring violent discussion pro and con by friends and foes of Revolutionary France.

During the years 1793 and 1794 American newspapers offered their readers, besides the kind of news coverage and commentary on the French Revolution illustrated above, what today is provided by columnists and the editorial page. This took the form of letters to the editor and articles of pseudonymous authorship—the pseudonym often being, as in the famous Publicola articles by John Adams, of Greek or Roman origin.

A series of eight such articles appeared under the title of "Cursory Thoughts on French Affairs" in the *New York Journal*, June 15–July 6, 1793. The first of these took cognizance of the division of opinion upon principles and upon the means to attain them, pointed out that the bad reports of the Revolution were often circulated by *émigrés*, and called for hope and confidence in the future of France. The article ended with the statement:

[21] On the fall of Robespierre see for 1794: *New York Daily Gazette*, October 11, 13; *New York Daily Advertiser*, October 10, 11, 13; *New York Journal*, October 11 (including an Extra), 15; *Gazette of the United States*, October 9; *Columbian Centinel*, October 11; *Independent Chronicle*, October 9, 13; *Baltimore Daily Intelligencer*, October 11; *Kentucky Gazette*, November 15, 1794. An account of the reorganized government was given in full in the *Baltimore Daily Intelligencer*, October 13, 1794.

"Besides, our information comes from such a polluted source, that the small portion of truth, which is told, is so distorted and disguised as to become falsehood." (During 1793–94, England was our chief source of continental news.) The third article of this series (June 22, 1793) discussed the virtues of the *sans-culottes*—"men without breeches." Explaining this lack of breeches as due to poverty caused by heavy taxation for king, nobles and clergy, the anonymous author continued:

> The want of breeches, however, is immaterial as to the success of the revolution. The Americans wanted (what was worse) shoes and stockings. . . . The sans-culottes may not appear so well upon a parade day, but they are formidable in the field. Their business is not show but reality. The breeches of the enemy do not serve to stop the point of the bayonet. . . .

Then, citing Romans, Scotch Highlanders, and savages as men not deterred from noble purposes by bare knees (an error of analogy, since the trousers of the *sans-culottes* were long), the article ended with the statement: "May all the French have breeches to put on; or, in other words, may they speedily accomplish the destruction of tyranny." This same article reappeared in the *National Gazette*, August 10, 1793.[22] Both were democratic papers and borrowed from each other, while the *Gazette of the United States* and the *New York Daily Gazette*, both Hamiltonian, also borrowed but rather to condemn than to praise French Jacobins.

Beginning with September 18, 1793, and running fifteen articles until November 30, 1793, the *New York Journal* printed a second series, ostensibly upon the French Constitution, but also treating of principles of government in general, with criticisms of their application in the United States. The fourth article in this series (October 2, 1793) discussed property rights and, whether by design or not, was accompanied in the adjoining

[22] The *National Gazette* gave as its source not the *New York Journal* but an unidentified South Carolina paper—perhaps the Charleston *City Gazette*, although this survey failed to obtain copies of the possible issue of that paper containing the article. It is quite probable that the article also appeared in other pro-Jacobin papers.

column by "Remarks on sundry unhealthy Nuisances in the city of New York," which lacked sewers, made no provision for garbage disposal, and permitted pigs and other barnyard animals to roam the streets at will.

Among the characteristics manifested by the American press in its coverage of French events from 1789 through 1794 were frequent ascriptions to the American Revolution of a molding influence on the French Revolution, and predictions that French developments would in turn become a dynamic example for other European peoples. The friendship between the two republics was often expressed. American papers recognized the necessity of violence, in view of the opposition to reform. There had been bloodshed in our own Revolution, and its results were applauded. All changes in France under the banner of liberty and equality were approved. Condemnations of revolutionary measures came less because of opposition to the principles behind them than because of their impact on American politics.

Although newspapers that were conservative on domestic issues were more often anti-French, and the more democratic ones more often pro-French, there was never a consistent denunciation or blind defense of France. Either a newspaper that tended to be anti-French included pro-French statements that would be recognized as ironical by habitual readers, and pro-French papers denounced violence, or American papers printed news of the French Revolution even if contrary to their prevailing opinion.[23] After the naval war began, news coverage for 1793–94 was intermittent, and naturally more biased, whether from French or enemy sources. It was less biased, however, than was the picture presented in those areas where *émigré* activity shut out all but derogatory news of the Revolution. Americans were still kept well aware that momentous events were occurring across the seas but their knowledge was not so detailed as formerly. Whereas they had obtained as good a picture of events

[23] For example, the *Columbian Centinel*, which had been anti-Jacobin, and had carried on a feud with the *Independent Chronicle*, appeared to be pro-Jacobin for a period after August 18, 1792.

transpiring in France between the beginning of the French Revolution and 1793 as readers of any newspapers outside of France, from 1793 on, their knowledge of events was incomplete, and less adequate than English or Dutch sources. The war, rather than internal reforms, was reported, although the printing of texts of Robespierre's major speeches of 1794 conveyed the principles of the First French Republic of that period to American readers.

This survey does not pretend to exhaust the study of the impact which the French Revolution made on American readers through their newspapers. Several studies of this subject have already been published[24] and others are being undertaken,[25] but much remains to be done. The sources are ample and available[26] and it is hoped that this article may stimulate intensive studies of single newspapers, as well as of groups of newspapers on more specific aspects of the French Revolution. The inter-relationship of French and American developments lends added significance to such studies.

[24] Charles Downer Hazen's *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1897) and Bernard Faÿ's *L'esprit révolutionnaire en France et l'Amérique* (Paris: 1929) give only samplings of opinion from the American press and are centered on the later period of the Revolution. Attempts to cover the entire decade of opinion through the press of a single city may be found in: Margaret Woodbury, "Public Opinion in Philadelphia, 1789–1801," *Smith College Studies in History*, V (1919–20), Nos. 1–2; and in Huntley Dupré, "The Kentucky Gazette," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVI (1939), 163ff. A study of Virginia newspaper coverage of the Napoleonic era, though beyond the scope of this survey, should be mentioned: Joseph Isidore Shulim, *The Old Dominion and Napoleon Bonaparte, A Study in American Opinion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952). And Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny's "The American Press and the Fall of Napoleon in 1814" [edited by the author of the present article], in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 98, No. 5 (October 15, 1954), 337–376, is suggested as a model of method and style.

[25] A study of New York State newspapers during the French Revolution is in progress by Mr. Kurt Beerman of Gallaudet College, Washington, D.C.—an outgrowth of Professor Leo Gershoy's seminar on the American press at New York University.

[26] The New-York Historical Society possesses one of the most complete collections of newspapers for the decade of the French Revolution. The author wishes to express appreciation to the staff of their library, and for assistance in reading some of the papers to Miss Harriet Dronska, Miss Francine Barban, and Miss Margaret Dreyfus (now Mrs. Theodore Schultz). Other notable collections in New York City are the New York Public Library and the New York Society Library.

TWO EARLY VISITORS TO MOUNT VERNON

by R. W. G. Vail

JOHN PINTARD (1759–1844)
By John Ramage, 1787
The New-York Historical Society

HOW WOULD YOU like to dine with Martha Washington at Mount Vernon? Of course, you are too late for that thrilling experience, but you can still do so through the unpublished diary of our Founder, John Pintard, who visited Mrs. Washington on July 31st, 1801, and sat at her hospitable table between his hostess and her vivacious granddaughter, Nellie Custis Lewis. Other members of the family who were also present included Nellie's husband, Lawrence Lewis, her brother George Washington Parke Custis, and Judge Bushrod Washington, the future proprietor of Mount Vernon.[1] We will let Mr. Pintard tell you of his visit, quoting from his diary in our collection.

MR. PINTARD DINES WITH MRS. WASHINGTON

1801. Wed[y]. July. 29. Washington
. . . Mr. Allyn[2] has persuaded me to remain & accompany him to Mount Vernon. Wrote Mrs. P.[intard] accordingly. Heard of Col. [Aaron] Burr's arrival.

[1] Should you wish to visit Mount Vernon while President Washington is still alive, you might turn to: "A Dinner at Mount Vernon," from the unpublished journal of Joshua Brookes, February 4, 1799, in our *Quarterly*, April 1947, 72–85.

[2] The Pintard diary for August 3 says: "Took leave at 12 P.M. of my fellow lodger Mr. Allyn of N. London, a very clever, friendly man." He was one of a numerous and prominent New London, Connecticut, family, not otherwise identified.

Thur^{y}. July 30.

Hired a Coachee for $10. & to defray all charges to go to Mt. Vernon—left town at noon—arrived to dinner at Alexandria [*where he stayed at Gadsby's Tavern*]. . . .

Friday. 31. July.

After breakfast at Alexandria set off for Mount Vernon distant 10. miles. About half way you leave the postroad & turn to the left. Ab^{t}. 3 miles from the Mansion you enter the domains of the immortal Washington. The House stands on a comm^{g}. eminance on the W. bank of the Potowmac, near the river. The approach is very handsome & variegated by hill & vale & plain, fields highly improved, the forest trees left standing trimmed & cleared of underwood.

Mr. Allyn & myself were received very friendly by Mrs. [Martha] Washington[3] who bears her age remarkably well. She converses without reserve & [with] seeming pleasure on every subject that recalls the memory & virtues of her august consort. The Gardiner showed us the grounds & the improvements before the door w^{h}. occupied the Generals last attentions and to w^{h}. has been ascribed the cause of his death. We visited the Tomb where are deposited the remains of the beloved Father of our country untill the place to be prepaired by Congress is ready at the seat of government.[4] I cannot pretend to describe my sensibility & emotions as I walked over the grounds & apartments once owned & trod by a Washington.

The House is long & narrow, the apartments in the old building constructed by the Generals Father [*actually by his half brother, Lawrence Washington*] 4 in number on the first floor, small & ab^{t}. 15 or 18 feet square, not lofty. The left hand room as you enter contains the portrait of Col. Washington drawn by Peale in 1775, in his provincial uniform, blue, red facings & silver lace, a small cocked hat disfigurs the countenance wh. bears striking traits of the Washington features.[5]

Mrs. Washington is an accompaniment, ¾ lengths.[6] A family piece of

[3] Mrs. George (Martha Dandridge) Washington (1732–1802). At the time of Pintard's visit she was 69 years old, died the following year.

[4] At this time Washington was buried in a temporary tomb and, though he had wished to be buried on his own estate, a plan was then being considered by the government for the removal of his body to what was considered a more suitable resting place in the nation's capital. In fact, the family had agreed to the request of Congress for his removal and a crypt was prepared at a level below the floor of the rotunda of the Capitol, where it still remains, but the plan was never carried out and Washington's remains were eventually placed in a more suitable tomb a few rods from his home at Mount Vernon.

[5] Portrait of Washington in the uniform of a Colonel of Virginia Militia, painted by Charles Willson Peale at Mount Vernon in May, 1772 (not 1775 as Pintard says), and now owned by Washington and Lee University. A replica is owned by Martha Washington's descendant, Mr. Edmund Smith of Baltimore.

[6] This portrait of Martha Washington was painted by John Wollaston and is now owned by Washington and Lee University.

GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732–1799)

By Charles Willson Peale, 1772 (FARL)

Collection of Washington and Lee University

the Fayette [Lafayette] family, the lady mutilated on the left side of her face, the Marquis a striking resemblance—a present from him.[7] Savages profiles of the president & Mrs. Washington, young Custis & Lafayette.[8] There are several prints, medallions & miniatures of the president in the house none of wh. please Mrs. W. She does not think Stewarts [Stuart's] celebrated painting[9] a true resemblance. A miniature drawn last winter or spring by a Mr. Robert Field, now in Washington, of Mrs. W., is a striking likeness.[10] She is drawn to please her grand children in the usual long laced cap & neckkershief, that they may see her as she affected it in her every day face. Mr. Field executes capital large miniatures of the president at $50 each without the framing.[11]

We dined by invitation. Mr. Lewis[12] who married Miss Custis[13] & Mr. Custis[14] retd. from attending to the Farm. Mr. L. is building on the land bequeathed him by his uncle abt. 4 [*actually* 1 ½] miles distance ["*Woodlawn," described later*]. Mr. C. [George Washington Parke Custis] calls himself his aunts [*i.e.*, his grandmother's] manager—a brisk lively lad just of age not handsome. Mrs. Custis,[15] quite lusty, was at table & a niece of

[7] We have been unable to locate this group, though, according to the inventory, it was in the front parlor of Mount Vernon as late as 1810.

[8] These pastel profiles are by James Sharples, not Savage, and were in Mount Vernon until the death of Martha Washington when they were inherited by her grandson, George Washington Parke Custis, who bequeathed them to his daughter Mary, Mrs. Robert E. Lee, after which they passed out of the family. A profile miniature of George, attributed by family tradition to Rolinda Sharples, has descended in direct line to Mrs. Wilfred Mustard, great-great-great-granddaughter of Martha by her first husband, John Parke Custis. A seeming replica of this profile and a front face of Martha Washington are now owned by another of Martha's descendants, Mr. Edmund Smith of Baltimore.

[9] Gilbert Stuart's famous portrait of Washington, now owned by the Boston Athenaeum and exhibited at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

[10] The miniature of Martha Washington by Robert Field was painted at Mount Vernon in 1801 and given by her to her great-granddaughter, Frances Parke Lewis (b. 1799), eldest child of Lawrence and Eleanor Parke Custis Lewis, who lived at Mount Vernon until Mrs. Washington's death. A replica of it was painted the same year.

[11] Field copied the Gilbert Stuart "Vaughan type" portrait of Washington at least six times as a miniature, according to Harry Piers: *Robert Field*, 1927.

[12] Lawrence Lewis, George Washington's nephew, who married Eleanor Parke Custis. They were living at Mount Vernon at this time.

[13] Eleanor (Nellie) Parke Custis, Mrs. Washington's granddaughter, who married Lawrence Lewis.

[14] George Washington Parke Custis, grandson of Mrs. Washington and brother of Nellie Custis, still living at Mount Vernon at this time.

[15] "Mrs. Custis . . . a niece of Mrs. Washington," cannot be positively identified. However, she might have been Mrs. Washington's granddaughter, Eliza Parke Custis, who married Thomas Law and who could have been described as "lusty." Mr. Charles C. Wall, Resident Director of Mount Vernon, says: "The marriage did not prosper and she resumed her maiden name, designating herself as Mrs. Eliza Custis, but according to one authority, Charles Moore's *Life of George Washington*, the

MOUNT VERNON, 1800

Engraving by Francis Jukes after drawing by Alexander Robertson

The New-York Historical Society

Mrs. W. Judge Washington [18] arrived on his way to the Sup. Court of the U. States wh. sit next Monday. Mrs. W. was very attentive at table. I sat between her & Mrs. Lewis who was very chatty. The conversation was quite free easy & familiar. At ½ past 4 took leave of Mrs. W. & returned the same evening to the city [of Washington].

We are now about to visit Mount Vernon twenty-two years later in the company of an unidentified Scotch visitor. Judge Bushrod Washington has inherited the estate but, unfortunately, he is not at home, probably being occupied by his judicial duties in Washington, D.C. Our "Scot recently come over," as he describes himself, is greatly distressed by the condition of the

separation did not occur until 1804." However, she might have resumed her earlier name by 1801 and so might have been the "Mrs. Custis" mentioned by Pintard.

[18] Judge Bushrod Washington, nephew of George Washington, who inherited Mount Vernon, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, 1798–1829.

muddy roads and with the ignorance and squalor of the slaves. He is eloquent in his admiration of Washington and takes pains to record the local gossip as well as the results of his reading. His sentimental and grandiloquent descriptions, his obvious Scottish point of view, and his peppery disposition only add interest to his observations.

Having completed his inspection of Mount Vernon as the sun was going down, our traveller began to worry about a haven for the night and, since there was no nearby tavern and he had a letter of introduction to Lawrence Lewis at "Woodlawn," he set out to find this famous estate and its distinguished owners. After floundering around in the muddy roads and in spite of confusing directions he finally arrived to spend a delightful evening with Nellie Custis Lewis, her husband Lawrence, and the other members of their family and found them, to his delight, fully conversant with the history and literature of his beloved Scotland. But we will let him tell his story in his own inimitable style, as recorded in his unpublished diary in our collection.

FROM THE JOURNAL OF "A SCOT RECENTLY COME OVER"

No. XL. Virginia. March 9 1823

Anticipations—Visit to Mount Vernon

This morning amidst the valedictions of old Mr. J [I?]_____ and Dr. L_____ I mounted horse for Virginia. I never passed from one state into another, without some anticipations of the nature of the soil and climate, how I should feel myself situated, and with what part of society I might have to associate, what their moral standing, with their physical and mental superiority, or insignificance. My presentments in these were often mortifying, as I perceived the inferences from the many hearsays, and reports which had saluted my ears, were false.

But still conception was busy, fancy had already traversed Virginia. Nothing but greatness loomed over the mind, as I crossed the little creek, that fairly led me into Virginian clay hills, woods and glens.

Every Virginian with whom I had conversed, had represented his native state as the source of physical and mental greatness, his language swelled into superlative dignity as he talked about the natal spot of Washington, Jefferson, Randolph and others.

I was told of extensive plantations, and fine horses, of exuberant hospitality, and generous effusion of soul. The soft and gentle amidst these recitations never entered the mind, the elevated and grand possessed the fancy, affluance and prosperity shed their balmy blessings over this people. It is true I had heard of slaves, and negro-drivers, but these things were swallowed up amidst the general greatness, and only added to the native grandeur, as satellites from their opaque discs, reflecting a glorious radiance around their primaries and giving to them a wider range of importance and sway.

With such conceptions I moved along from one quagmire into another, until I got into a long lane resembling a mortar trough, in which the horse often sunk, I feared to bury forever both himself and rider. The frost had newly left this clayey passway, rains had fallen and the four team waggons drawling along had beat the whole into a pulp, which creamed over, and hid the holes and ruts. Such was the road to the abode once inhabited by General Washington.

The country exhibited some features of anticipated Virginian greatness. The planters houses scattered over its surface, rose like Scotch feudal castles, amidst the little negro huts around them. Their white painted exteriors reflecting the yellowish wintry sun beams, graced the tops of the rising hills, or as they stood in the gentle sloping valleys amidst the trees, threw an enchanting elegance through the groves.

By the road side were a few log-huts, some of which I entered to enquire the way, and found lusty healthy black coloured inhabitants, involved in filth and smoke. One young fellow more ingenious I suppose than the others, had got a sheet of paper on a board on his knee (for nothing resembling a table was in the hut) and was attempting to write. On my appearance like one convicted of a crime, in utter confusion, he flung the whole apparatus into a dark corner.

By their direction at the end of ten miles, I found myself in front of the park of Mount Vernon Mansion house. A gate situated betwixt two small plain white porter's lodges was opened by an aged negro, and from thence after keeping a turning path, through a grove, wound round to the top of an eminence and came to a side view of the house and garden.

A peculiar emotion thrilled through my system, on perceiving that I was amongst things once the associates of Washington, where he had mused, and spent the decline of life. The garden was in front of the building on this elevated parterre; the woods in their state of native wildness, sighed in the wind, and encircled its elegant evergreens, flower plots, and greenhouses. A solemn stillness hung over the scene, for Judge [Bushrod] Washington the present proprietor and family were from home. The chirping of guinea fowls, and more unsonorous language of the turkey, broke the solitude. I had no desire for a guide, I wished to wander among the inclosures, and survey those attractions, for which the man of this

people, had left princely power, martial pomp, and the applause of senates, with so much ease and willingness to enjoy natural beauties of no ordinary kind surround[ing] this place. It is an eminence, which overlooks the Potomac, that rolls its deep flood a few hundred yards below, similar to that on which the Earl of Hopeton's mansion house stands on the Firth of Forth, only more elevated and commanding scenery much more romantic, and picturesque.

On the opposite side of the river the coast of Maryland rises with gentle elevation, down which glittering streams rill, interspersed among forests, cultivated fields and plantation edifices.

Up the river fort Washington, a fortification of one hundred and ten guns, jutting out on a neck of land, closes the extensive scenery of the banks. Ships here usher themselves into notice, and sail past, others far below appear winding along, amidst planters houses fields and woods. The bank at my feet breaks off from the level parterre abruptly, into a steep grove, the verdant cedars and hoary oaks on either side swarmed with birds, that chirped in the dusky wintry sun.

The mansion is a two story wooden building, quite low in the second flat a piazza its whole length is attached to the back of it, and there a black servant who had joined me said, the General and his family in the Summer evenings used to sup. On the roof was a small spire, and about the front nothing remarkable, but three doors, and had three more been added, it would have been all doors together. Far more elegant and stately fabrics I have seen in New York, hurled half a mile, to some obscure part of the city, that a tallow chandler might erect something better, for his family's accommodation.

The interior consisted of the centre hall, or passage in which among other curiosities hung the key of the Bastile, the trophy of French popular power sent to General Washington by Marquis de La Fayette; on the right the dining room and library each about ten or twelve feet square. In these hung several elegant gilt framed plates, portraying some memorable field of human carnage, or the glorious end of a favourite son of Mars.

The library contained a handsome collection of English books, on History, Geography, and Belles Lettres, and had nothing else conspicuous or attractive about them.

The western half of the building, was formed into an ante chamber and large dining room, in which there was an organ, a large terrestrial sphere, and a few portraits of the present proprietor's family, with some chairs and tables. The upper story was divided off into sleeping apartments, and this was the accommodation of General Washington. This in the same form, and with much the same furniture as when he left it. How would your lowest British Baronets, or aiblens [perhaps] a puffing Scotch Bailie, of the thread of Nicol Jarvis consider their fame tarnished if visited in

such a Summer residence. But small accommodations never disgraced any man, if his soul rose above them. Cincinnatus taken from the plow and made Dictator, to head the armies of Rome, or even Goldsmith sending the Vicar of Wakefield from a garret, have a lasting reputation adorning their memories, which the trappings of material splendour can never bestow.

On leaving the dwelling establishment I perceived two other appendages attached to it. One was a square building on the right, which had been the writting room and another similar on the left the kitchen.

A large elegant green turf parterre of oval form, extended away from the front of the buildings. On the right of it was the kitchen garden and on the left some of the best furnished green houses I have seen. The greater part of the trees in them had fruit nearly ripe. The coffee pods were softly tinged with red, and hung in clusters on shrubs which entirely filled one house; another glass covered building was stocked with limes, whose fruit was dropping by ripeness from the branches, a third had oranges tempting the palate of the visitors, with their mellowed colour; a fourth was full of the pine apple shrubs shooting forth their blooms; the broad leaved plantain, the aloe of several species, the banana and numerous other exotic trees, and plants in different houses were all in beautiful foliage.

The plants are kept in these houses during the winter, but are all moved out into the flower garden in the warm months of Summer, and from the arrangement allotted them, amidst the flowery plotes, must have an elegant effect.

Behind the house on the precipitous and woody bank of the river, lie the mouldering remains of General Washington. His burial place is a vault but has little the appearance of one. The arch not rising much higher than the surface of a common grave, is of similar dimensions, and is covered with loose mouldering turf on which a stunted cedar or two grow. I would have stepped upon it, had not the guide announced "Here he lies."

No sculptured monuments of praise nor laurelled encomiums decorate his tomb. His name is neither carved or wrote on any thing around, even the decorations of nature, the long rank grass, which grow profusely in such places is scratched up by the poultry and the naked earth, with those paltry evergreens, leads one but little to suspect quis hic jacet.

The despoliation, and sacrilege has been consummated, by the profanum vulgus, who have swarmed around here from time to time, and with pencil, chalk, and knife, have soiled and hacked all over the little plank door of the vault, with their own important names.

I know not what America means, Congress begged of Mrs. Washington his body, that they might deposite it in a worthy mausoleum in Washington city, and after this was granted with reluctance, and the feelings of

the relations had been torn in the decision of this affair, it has been treated with total neglect.

Scotia thou hast thy match, thy hero too lies without one mark of national honour. Tell us not they live sufficiently in the minds of their countrymen, that the sum may be saved, which would make them live also before the eyes, and in the recollection of strangers. Some few cities have attempted to do away the odium of this neglect. Richmond has an elegant statue of Washington, Raleigh possesses another, and a column with his statue on its top which overlooks from its height the whole city of Baltimore is erecting, by those public spirited citizens. But it is a national monument that is wanted. It is a concentration of public testimony and respect. But Washington will be honoured by friends, and strangers and I was happy to hear, that Commodore C_____ [Rear Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane], whom I told you my friend Mr. Andrew J_____, in Alexandria, designated as the most roguish Scotchman he ever knew, who after assisting to burn the Capital, on sailing down the river, lowered the foretopsails of his squadron, whilst their bands played Washington's march, as they passed the tomb.

This was the abode, and burial place however chosen by himself, [of] the man stated in Congress to have been, "the first in war, the first in peace and the first in the hearts of his fellow citizens." His uniform moderation amidst the plaudits he received from the whole Empire, displays his real greatness of soul [more] than the fortitude and energy by which he gained each martial trophy. What thanks on the resignation of his Generalship, what congratulation on accepting the reigns of supreme government, what high toned expressions of public feeling as he passed through the country to the seat of national power; the bridges erected into triumphal arches, and in one place the matrons leading their daughters dressed in white, with baskets of flowers bestrewing his pathway sung

"Welcome mighty chief once more,
Welcome to this grateful shore,
Now no mercenary foe,
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

Virgins fair, and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arm did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers,
Strew ye fair, his way with flowers,
Strew your Hero's way with flowers."

Governors of states, Generals and Judges joined in the encomiums. High and low mingled in generous acclammation. It was more than

TOMB OF WASHINGTON, MOUNT VERNON

Litho. by Geo. Lehman after J. R. Smith; publ'd by Childs & Inman, 1832

The New-York Historical Society

human nerves were designed to withstand. In a less glorious situation Herod thought himself a god; the King of Babylon shrunk beneath its weight, into the similitude of a brute; even Julius Caesar's brain was turned, and Buonaparte lost his prudence, but Washington rose above the whole, he retired without ostentation to Mount Vernon, where the sage never practised better morals, nor infused into his visitors more abstimious and virtuous habits.

One day of his life here was an ipitome of the whole. He rose with the sun and walked out, saw his servants employed, and grooms in the stable, (for he was fond of his horses). Then he wrote until breakfast, after which he mounted horse, and visited one or other of his farms, directing its agricultural concerns; he returned about one at noon and dined; then he returned to his study until supper, and at nine went to bed, no company could keep him later.

His house was never without visitors, and his table seldom without guests, no decent looking person was denied these preveleges. Though generally reserved and dignified in his deportment, yet he was affable, and mannerly, and with acquaintances cheerfully sociable, when the form of etiquete was broke through, none enjoyed himself better, or delighted more in easy conversation. He was fond of anecdote, and could relate them with becoming grace. He was not merely the follower of buoyant fellowship, but often took the lead.

The paintings of him at Mount Vernon and the statues I have seen elsewhere, have one likeness. His features are those of nature, which no one fails in drawing. Even the wretched daubs on tavern signposts hung up in every town, and public road, give the true lineaments of his features, and without a name, you can say this is Washington. The full length representations tell his muscular strength; he was six feet high, and handsome[ly] proportion[ed].

The fatigues he endured in his youth, qualified him for the hardships of his riper years. He entered early into the military service of the colonies, and it is good evidence of the opinion entertained of his military capacity when only at the age of nineteen he was appointed one of the Adjutant Generals of Virginia, with the rank of Major. In the colonial wars against France, Spain, and the Indians he rose in the British service to the rank of Colonel, and his conduct here must have been very superior, which could recommend him to the American people, as the most suitable person for their Generalissimo.

From all I have read, and all I can learn, and the stories told me have not been few, the qualifications of his mind were of the first order. His intuitive penetration in national concerns has been surpassed by few, and his deliberate judgement by none. No hasty decision passed his lips, he saw the subject in all its bearings before he would decide. His councils were sagacious, and his plans practical, no visionary phantoms deluded

is judgement, or supposititious self sufficiency, beguiled his expectation. Unimpassioned, without pride, he would apply the means to the end, and that with the most discriminating propriety, and his fortitude to execute his designs, no difficulty could shake.

No. XLI—Virginia March 11, 1823

Negroes—Visit to Mr. L[ewis]

After wandering about, musing and writing among the scenes of Mount Vernon until wearied, I paced down the avenue from the house. I enquired at the inmates of the lodges at the gate, the nearest way to a tavern, but none knew of any such thing in that neighborhood, or within twelve miles. I had a note of introduction to call on Mr. L [*name* Lewis *partially erased*], the husband of the grand daughter of General Washington's wife [Lawrence Lewis, George Washington's nephew and the husband of Eleanor (Nellie) Parke Custis, granddaughter of Mrs. George Washington], but this was reserved for the last shift.

The shades of night however were closing the scenery around, and the chilling frosty wind, hardening the miry surface of the path, and the calls of nature made a retreat to some hospitable board absolutely necessary. Up a long narrow lane I posted, in a line with Mount Vernon avenue, sticking fast at every exertion to redouble my speed. The roads are without formation, barricaded on each side with worm fences, consisting of split trees placed end to end upon each other, in a zigzag manner, making as many angles as there are lengths of wood, this is the general form of park fences throughout the States, abundance of land, plenty of wood, and little labour in constructing them, is their only recommendation. Betwixt these rude barriers I travelled on, wondering whether carelessness, laziness, or poverty induced the Virginians to put up with such roads. Cedars, and oaks on each side gave a miserable sombre aspect to this barricaded quagmire, and hid from my view every appearance of human settlement. A sudden opening on the left brought to mind the hordes of the highlands. Down in its receding grove, huts straggling along in two ranges presented themselves. I knew not whether [whither] I was going, information was necessary and to them I bent my course. The closer I advanced to these wretched receptacles, the more commiseration arose within my breast.

Every step grew deeper, and sitting on the saddle to look at their construction, found them all composed of rough logs, piled above each other, with the seams smeared with clay. Wading to the first from which smoke arose, I found it fastened with a padlock, advancing to a second through its panes I perceived the elements of heaven, bleaching the rags on the floor, which served for a bed. On pushing open the door, a fire was

on the hearth, but no inhabitant was to be seen. I wandered through a dozen of them, some were locked and others open.

By holes in the walls of those secured, I perceived things a little cleaner, and in better order and was led to suppose that even in such slavery, there were grades of comfort, and enjoyment, but was astonished, at not finding either male, female or child in any of them. Tired with the exercise of wading through water and filth, I was about to use the "view hallo" when suddenly there came a who[o]p and ho from the organs of some rational creature. It was a negro with a couple of meagre oxen in a cart, with an old lame horse for their leader, with harness of twisted hemp flying in tatters in the wind. On asking whose place this was, the fellow gaped, and stared; He appeared to have as much consciousness as a cockle, or oyster placed on the fire. I repeated the question, and with difficulty he uttered in a harsh growling sound, "I dont know." Whose servant are you then? He sat fixed, dull and mute as a lump of marble in the vehicle, showing the glaring white of his large eyes and teeth, like embossed figures in a bronze statue. I was surprised, and provoked at the fellows stupidity.

A multitude of negro men, women and children now made their appearance, coming from the fields in the same direction, by which this character had approached. Addressing them with much the same questions I still found considerable difficulty in getting them to understand what I wanted. But no sooner had they perceived that I wished to know the way to Mr. L[ewis']s house than an equal dilemma arose, to comprehend their direction. The hurry of thought, the confused expressions, the number of voices, the incessant repetitions, some pointing one way to one bend of the road, others to another and many to an opposite quarter altogether, seemed to intimate that every point of the compass bore upon the way I had to travel, and every path on the globe, for aught I could perceive, was connected with it.

After making them all hold their peace, I desired one individual to tell me the way, but it was still like the graphic muse of a [pal]atine of Babel. His tongue moved so fast, his hands pointed so many different ways, I knew not what to think. Others again assisted him, I grew impatient as the shades of the night lowered, and demanded a speedy retreat some where. From their instructions I had either to go south east, or north west, and so left them, amazed at the low glimmerings of reason, and discrimination exhibited by those ebony coloured mortals, and supposing Mr Lock[e]'s statement was never more fully verified, that though men may talk of themselves being born rational beings, yet it is only the cultivation, and exercise of their reasoning powers that make them so.

Pacing along with all expedition, a grist mill appeared, where I obtained proper directions, and after winding up a hill among woods, was introduced by a circutous avenue, to the back entry of the house.

This was a building about twice as large as General Washington's, and

LAWRENCE LEWIS SHOWING LAFAYETTE HIS "WOODLAWN," 1824

Drawn and lithographed by John Robert Murray, *c.* 1824

Courtesy of National Trust for Historic Preservation: Woodlawn Plantation

appeared to be of superior modern brick architecture.[17] I rapped and enquired for the Master, but was informed he was from home. The card I desired to be handed to his Lady, and in a few minutes was introduced into an elegant parlour, well stocked with musical instruments, harps, pianos, violins; masses of books lay on every table, and maps with elegant plates decorated the walls. A lady sat by the fire, whom I supposed to be Mrs L[ewis],[18] and was making many apologies for the slender introduction, upon which I had presumed to come, the necessity I was under of intruding upon her hospitality, and the hope and expectation that it would not be taken amiss, with other things a la mode; when she told me she was not the mistress of the house. Mis[s] L_____[19] by this time

[17] "Woodlawn," Fairfax County, Virginia, a mile and a half west of Mount Vernon, a Georgian Colonial-style, red-brick, two-story mansion with two low balancing wings, designed by Dr. William Thornton and built in 1802 on Gray Heights, part of the 2,000-acre estate, once part of the Mount Vernon property, bequeathed by Washington to his nephew, Lawrence Lewis, who lived there from 1802 to 1830 when he sold it. It has been restored and is now owned and administered by The National Trust for Historic Preservation, a non-governmental, non-profit organization established by Act of Congress in 1949.

[18] Mrs. Lawrence (Eleanor Parke Custis) Lewis (1779–1852).

[19] "Miss L_____" cannot be identified unless Lawrence Lewis's sister, Betty Lewis (1765–1830), who had married Charles Carter in 1781.

had entered, and advanced up behind me. She was pointed out by the other, I turned round, felt confounded, stared, stuttered, and had not a word to say. An affable smile however mantling over her face, an elegant fashionable inclination of the body, and articulations of a sweet musical voice, told me at once I was at home.

The Mother[20] withdrew, for I found the ladies so related, and being left with the daughter, broke silence, and began to talk about the rural situation of Mount Vernon and amongst other colloquial interrogations asked when General Washington died. "George Washington you mean I suppose" was the reply, "he died in 1799." This designation of the General by the plebean name spoke something. No disrespect for his memory surely, but perhaps the signs of the times were exhibited, that respect for republican phraseology, which I had often observed in several classes of society, where the President never had another name than James Monroe, nor the Ex President than Thomas Jefferson. In the prevalence of republican principles, such language is popular, and the friends of popular men do well to use it, to have their characters in keeping.

Mrs. L[ewis][21] soon after joined us, and we entered into a flow of good natured conversation. She recognized me for a Scot lately come over, and with all the fluency, and promptitude of a blue stocking, pinioned me with questions about Jeffrays, Chalmers, Scot, Campbell and down in the literary phalanx to Blackwood, and the Ettrick Shepherd. Peters' Letters were revived, the tales by Waverly's author were produced, all was good humour. We were bounding over the Grampian hills, amidst their fogs, and lakes, seeing as many visions as Lackhiel's Wizard. Castle after castle was erected, Tillitudlem's turrets and spires rose towering aloft. We entered moor, cave and glen, the Laird of Dummidikes and Jenny Deans dwelt there, Claverhouse, Rob Roy and Bailie Nicol Jarvis strolled yonder, the martialled highland clans and bagpipes echoed from afar, the Scotch Covenanters sung, and fought under our eye. So much ease, good humour, and grace never got enkindled so spontaneously before. She spoke in the language of poetry, it was pure inspiration, and in broad Scotch, English prose terms could not convey the meaning.

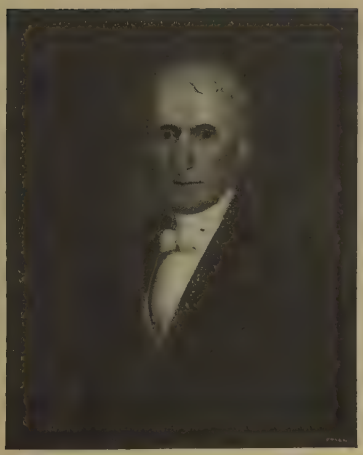
Towards supper time Mr. L[ewis][22] and a promising youth a son[23] made their appearance, and we commenced a review of General Washingtons character. More impartial animadversions could not have been expected from relatives. Some excellent portraits both in miniature and as large as

[20] "The Mother" cannot be identified since neither Mr. nor Mrs. Lewis's mother was living in 1823. The Scotchman evidently confused the relationships of the women at "Woodlawn."

[21] The mistress of the house, Mrs. Lawrence (Eleanor Parke Custis) Lewis (1779–1852).

[22] Lawrence Lewis (1767–1839), nephew of George Washington and husband of Eleanor Parke Custis, Martha Washington's granddaughter, owner of "Woodlawn."

[23] Lorenzo Lewis (1803–1847), only son of Lawrence Lewis, then aged 20 years.



LAWRENCE LEWIS AND WIFE (ELEANOR PARKE CUSTIS)

Both portraits by John Beale Bordley, 1832 (FARL)

Collection of Kenmore Association, Fredericksburg, Va.
On loan at Woodlawn Plantation, Mount Vernon

life of the General were shown. Locks of his hair which had once been black, but now silvered over were inlaid upon the back of some of them.

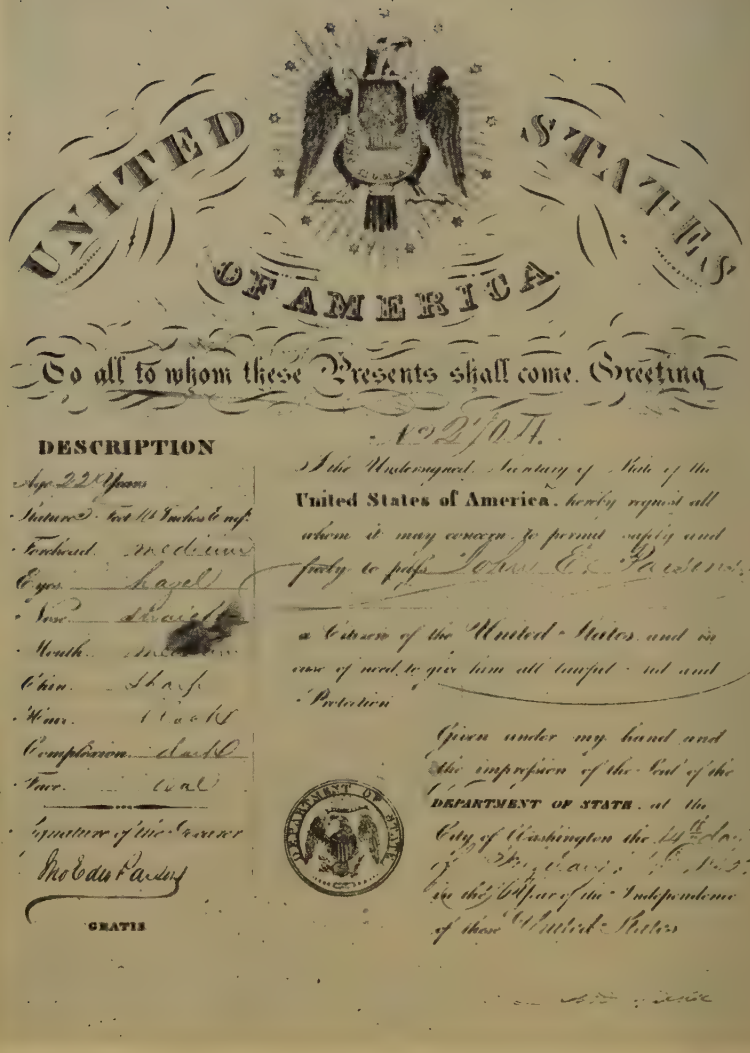
The likeness of Mrs. Washington, which I had in vain looked for in Mount Vernon house was among them. It exhibited a lusty cheerful serene feature, worthy the companion of such a man, and with whom he lived in the most tranquil happiness, though never blest with offspring.

Our feelings mutually began here again to assume a friendly tone. We drunk the health of the General's friends out of the silver tumblers he had used in camp, and on the division of property, a piece of Mrs Washingtons marriage gown fell to my share.[24] The hours of the evening passed away, the balmy God stole over our frames, and after prayers we committed them to repose.

March 14 1823

With feelings of respect [regret *crossed out*] I left the accomplished [hospitable *crossed out*] family of Mr. L[ewis]. . . .

[24] Does this mean that a piece of Martha Washington's wedding gown fell to the share of Mrs. Lewis or that they gave a piece of it to the Scotchman as a souvenir?


UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
To all to whom these Presents shall come. Greeting
DESCRIPTION
Age 22 Years
Stature 5 feet 11 Inches & a half
Forehead medium
Eyes hazel
Nose straight
Mouth medium
Chin short
Hair black
Complexion dark
Face oval
Signature of the Bearer
Thos Edw Parsons
GRATIS
1852 No. 14.
I the Undersigned Secretary of State of the United States of America, hereby request all whom it may concern to permit safely and freely to pass Thos E. Parsons
a Citizen of the United States and in case of need to give him all lawful aid and Protection
Given under my hand and the impression of the Seal of the DEPARTMENT OF STATE, at the City of Washington the 4th day of May
in the 76th year of the Independence of the United States

THE AUTHOR'S PASSPORT, SIGNED BY DANIEL WEBSTER,
SECRETARY OF STATE, 1852

THROUGH THE ATLANTIC STATES TO CUBA IN 1852

EXCERPTS FROM THE JOURNAL AND LETTERS OF JOHN E. PARSONS[1]

Wednesday, March 3d, 1852. Willard's Hotel, Washington

I LEFT HOME on Monday morning last, Havana my destination by way of this City and Charleston. Crossing the Hudson River by a ferry on a cold, raw, dismal morning, I took seat in the rail car for Philadelphia.[2] The route is first over a long reach of salt meadow, like a great Prairie with here and there a muddy creek or a black slimy ditch, and little to interrupt the view of the distant hills and highlands of the northern part of New Jersey. The rest of the route to Tacony, where we took a steamer on the Delaware, is just what I have ever supposed Jersey to be—low, level, barren, boggy, muddy, clayey, and decidedly uninteresting.[3]

The Delaware where we take it is a noble stream, broad and majestic. The banks are low and level. I like to approach a large city by water, as you then get some slight idea of it, which a railway, and even a stage road seldom gives. I was not disappointed in Philadelphia as I had not expected to be much pleased.

[1] John E. Parsons (1829–1915), author of this account, was graduated from New York University in 1847 at the age of 18. His college diary was published in this *Quarterly* for July 1954, where other particulars of him are given. Before his journey to Cuba he had studied law in a New York City office, being admitted to the bar upon his return. A note on the envelope containing his letters home reads: "1852—In the Spring I made a trip to Washington, Charleston, Havana, New Orleans, the Mississippi River to Nashville, Louisville, Cincinnati, home. These letters were preserved by my mother. At Havana I joined Fred S. Jesup; and later Morris Ketchum [Jesup] and his tutor Louis Boisot. From N.O. Gen! Van Rensselaer of Albany & his daughter joined our party." The papers quoted are in the possession of a grandson and namesake, who has supplied the annotation.

[2] The route from Jersey City to Tacony, Pa., was via the New Jersey R.R., the Trenton & New Brunswick and the Philadelphia & Trenton (now the main line of the Pennsylvania R.R.).

[3] A letter of the same date comments: "The most noteworthy objects seem to be a superabundance of hungry crows, and a disposition for fancy vanes."

It is built on a slight elevation above the Delaware, and the city is nearly on a dead level. The streets usually intersect at right angles, and are mostly straight lines; the effect is neither pleasing nor striking.[4] The Public buildings seem few and poor, as there are none of those palaces where the merchant princes of the Empire City reside or do their business. The streets are also narrow, and by no means clean, to judge from their state when I saw them.

That part of Pennsylvania which skirts the Delaware, and which is seen between Philadelphia and Wilmington is no sample of Pennsylvania scenery. It differs but little from New Jersey. We crossed the upper part of the State of Delaware by rail road.[5] Delaware is far the finest land I have seen since leaving N. Y. The farms appear neat, well fenced and kept in good order. They use hedges to great extent, and the effect even in winter is fine and pleasing. The farms are usually cultivated by slave labor, and it is here that I made my first acquaintance with the peculiar institution of the South. The farmers are careless and improvident, and their negroes are being rapidly sold to the South to pay the debts of their extravagant masters.

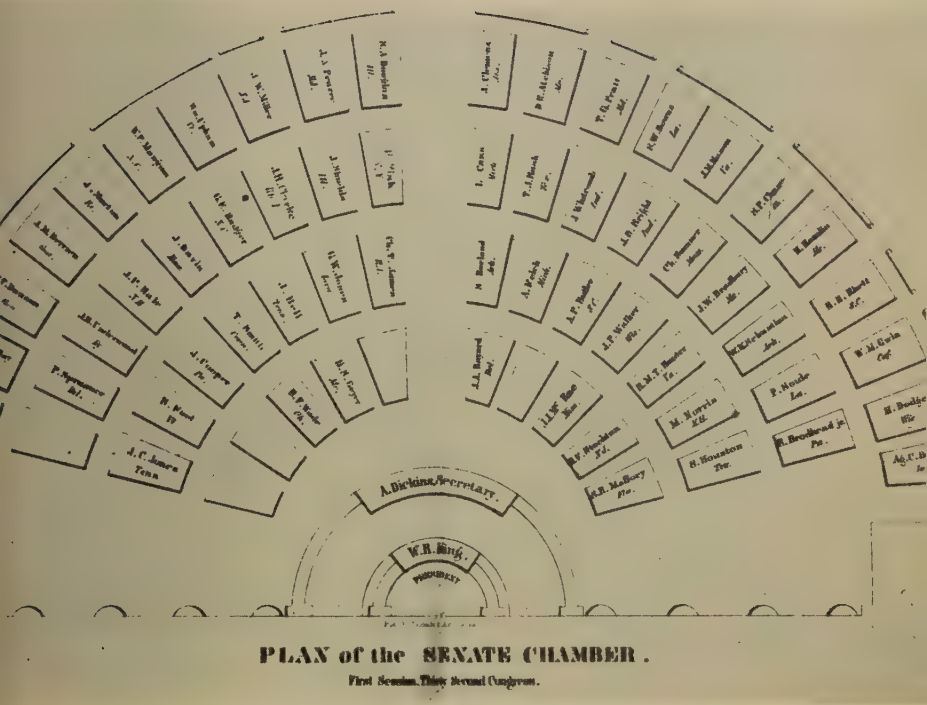
We took the Chesapeake bay at Frenchtown,[6] saw a magnificent sunset there, and had a beautiful sail by moonlight down the Chesapeake 60 miles to Baltimore, which is a finer city than Philadelphia. It is built on hills, the streets are fine, the houses large and many of them very fine. Baltimore is celebrated for its monuments. I saw two—one to the memory of Washington and the other to commemorate the battle of Northpoint,[7] the scene

[4] The letter goes on: "I saw a pretty little park and the Philadelphians, as a companion in the car told me, consider the Girard College beyond all comparison the finest building in the world."

[5] The line across Delaware to Maryland was called the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore R.R.

[6] Letter from Baltimore: "The ice bridge on the Susquehanna broke up Saturday and we were therefore compelled to take a roundabout way, by rail and steamboat."

[7] The battle of Northpoint was fought on September 12, 1814, between British regulars and American militia. The British held the field, but their attack on Baltimore failed.



THE SENATE AS THE AUTHOR SAW IT IN 1852

Including, *left of the aisle:* William H. Seward, Henry Clay, Stephen A. Douglas, Hamilton Fish; and *right of the aisle:* Salmon P. Chase, Lewis Cass, Charles Sumner, and Sam Houston

of which we passed in the steamer. Baltimore is the seat of the Roman Catholic Archbishop and the headquarters of that hierarchy in this country, and they have there in consequence many buildings.

Two hours by rail road bring you 40 miles to Washington.[8] Washington has been well called the city of magnificent distances. If the plan of its designer can ever be carried into operation, it will be one of the most beautiful places in the world, as its

[8] From Baltimore to Washington the line was then called the Washington R.R.

THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT AS ORIGINALLY DESIGNED
(The Capitol and the Smithsonian Institution appear at the right)

From a receipt for a contribution towards its construction: lithograph (Wm. Endicott, *c.* 1852) by C. E. Crehen after Robert Mills, architect

The New-York Historical Society

natural formation, and situation on the bank and in full view of the Potomac is surpassingly beautiful. It offers several of the finest sites for public edifices—the chief and most elevated is occupied by the Capitol, and the others—the President's house, Patent Office, National Observatory, Smithsonian Institute, Washington monument, etc.

The President's house is a fine building with a most lovely view of the Potomac and opposite scenery. To me the Capitol is incomparably the greatest attraction. I think the Patent Office is immensely overrated.[9] The most interesting objects are the collections of the Exploring Expedition,[10] the original Declaration of Independence, several original treaties with foreign powers, and some articles that once belonged to and were worn by Gen[l] Washington. The collection is generally ill arranged, many of the articles ridiculous and serving only to commemorate some vain donor, which they do in bad penmanship and worse grammar. The Monument[11] when completed will be a fitting memorial to the father of his country; its design is very grand and imposing. The Smithsonian[12] is a fine building, and should be seen from a near view which gives the best effect to the Romanesque. The Capitol and its grounds are adorned with paintings and statuary. Those that fill the panels of the rotunda are well known and all fine historical paintings. With one exception, they are more history than painting. There is one, however, the Embarcation of the Pilgrims,[13] which does justice as far as painting can do to such a subject.

[9] The cornerstone of the Patent Office was laid in 1836; the building was first occupied about 1840 and used in part as a museum.

[10] The United States Exploring Expedition to the South Seas was commanded by Charles Wilkes, 1838–1842.

[11] The Washington Monument was begun in 1848 but not completed until 1884. Letter from Washington: "It will be 500 feet high if completed—half again as high as Trinity steeple."

[12] Letter from Washington: "A very beautiful and extensive building in the Romanesque style of architecture, built of red sandstone with numerous towers. It is not quite completed, but already contains a fair library, good collection of Indian paintings."

[13] Painted in 1847 by Robert W. Weir (1803–1889). See Theodore Sizer, "The Recollections of John Ferguson Weir," *NYHS Quarterly*, April 1957, 139.

Saturday, March 6th, 1852. Charleston Hotel, Charleston, S.C.

From Washington to Charleston is a long and weary route. It begins with a sail of 60 miles down the Potomac, past Mount Vernon. I made the passage on one of the loveliest moonlight nights, a pleasant relief after the turmoil of a busy city and the confusion and discord of our national halls of legislature. I attended the sessions of both houses of Congress[14] and was unfortunate in there being no subject raised whilst I was there to draw out the more prominent members. I suppose we seldom see now realized in any assembly of law givers that dignity of the old Roman Senate, or even the simplicity, earnestness and attention to business that characterized the meetings of our ancestors. And the falling off is a matter of progress. The greater part of the remarks that I heard made consisted of mere personalities—ebullitions of party political hostilities or of hostile personal feelings. And it is for this that we pay these men—thus to abuse their occupation & neglect their duties.

From a small landing on the Potomac[15] we came over 300 miles by rail to Wilmington, N. C. and through the most dull and tiresome country imaginable, sand banks and pine barrens, low, level and not fertile. There are seen here none of those objects which lend so great a charm to the stones and hills of New England. No pretty white houses and neat yards here tell of comfort and happiness. No village spire ever points up to heaven. There is no activity. I very much mistake if slavery is not the root and mother of all this.

We came to Charleston from Wilmington in a small steamer, and a proof of the known and felt insecurity of this State is seen in the fact that they compel all strangers coming from the North

[14] Thirty-second Congress, First Session. Millard Fillmore was President of the United States.

[15] Acquia Creek, northern railhead of the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Potomac R.R. From Richmond to Weldon, N. C., the lines were called the Richmond & Petersburg and the Petersburg & Roanoke. From Weldon to Wilmington the line was the Wilmington & Weldon.

to give their names, age, residence, occupation, etc. on the boat before allowing them to land, while an index of their vanity is found in the mud citadel in this City whence they are to contend against and overcome the United States.[10]

Havana, Cuba, March 14th, 1852

A week ago today I was at Charleston and had an opportunity of hearing divine service, a thing I must do without for some few weeks now. Charleston is an old city, little changed apparently from what it may have been 100 years ago, and from that circumstance has a venerable appearance which seems in some measure to redeem it. A people will always show themselves in their works and no contrast would more strongly show the difference between the North and the South than the appearance of a trim Massachusetts town and a tumbledown South Carolina city. Yet we see much to admire in the southern character. There is there a spirit of chivalry, and we see nowhere else the same devotion to, and willingness to suffer and die for the principles they profess. We leave Charleston at 8 on a Monday morning for this city, and arrived here after a voyage of 76 hours. The third day of our voyage we coast the Florida shore, and see the many beautiful and green islets which line it. The water has changed from blue to green and with a smooth sea we enjoy it much.

Cardenas, Cuba, March 19th, 1852

The approach to the island of Cuba, and the near approach to the city and entrance to the harbor of Havana filled me, who had never seen another land than my own, with unmingled delight. Far from the land we saw the dim and misty hills of Cuba rise

[10] Letter from Charleston: "The South Carolinians are a great people, if you would believe themselves, and they threaten to whip the United States if they do not conform to their wishes. Travelling at the South makes short work of your finances. We pay here $2.50 a day, and I was frightened out of having my soiled clothes washed when they told me the charge — 10 shillings a doz. — 10 *cts* for a collar."

to the view, distant leagues inland we were told, and as our vessel[17] came nearer, the lower shore land came into view, green and beautiful, with here and there the white walls of a plantation, and the palm trees stretching their bushy tops toward the heavens, as they stood out in bold relief on the crests of the hills.

Next we could see the yellow walls of the Moro Castle, and stretching along under them what we supposed to be the city of Havana, increasing to the eye, until we turn the Moro, rushing past its frowning walls, and the harbor of Havana opens to the eye. All was new—the City, its houses and wharves, its roofs and steeples, its walls and fortifications, the green lands around and the tropical sun above. The harbor of Havana is not a very good but is a very beautiful one. It is admirably fortified and perhaps impregnable. The vessels are not allowed to approach the wharves but are loaded with lighters, and the steamer lands her passengers in small boats.

There are many obstacles thrown by the government in the way of those visiting the island, the object of which seems to be rather to profit the pocket than to effect the security of the island. First comes on board the officer of the port to allow the vessel to anchor, then the police of the city to grant the passengers permits to land, and at last we are allowed to land, though our baggage remains till the next day, before it can be passed through the Customs house.

Cardenas, Cuba, Sunday, March 21st, 1852

The first thing the traveller notices in landing at Havana is the perfect and absolute difference of everything. The streets are new to him, the houses, the people. All is strange, and soon a clumsy, awkward volante rolls by, with a queer grotesque looking horse, which finishes the conviction that everything here is done to fail as much as possible in answering the purpose for

[17] "El Vapor Isabel [1115 tons], Capitan Rollins," according to the visa on the traveller's passport.

A "VOLANTE" PHOTOGRAPHED IN CUBA ABOUT 1899

From an album at The New-York Historical Society

which it was intended. In Havana the streets are very narrow, and side walks of any use are almost unknown. This is of course of less consequence here where almost every one rides than it would be at the North. In fact walking here is at times almost impossible, both from the intense heat, and, in storms, from the water which collects in the streets and often rushes down them like a deep mountain torrent.

Ladies are never seen walking in the streets—in fact the young ladies of Havana are hidden in real Spanish seclusion, and can only be seen behind the curtains of a volante, at church, or at the opera. There seems little need of this imprisonment, as the women I have seen have been almost without exception not only not pretty, but ugly. They have always bright eyes, with no softness of expression, dark complexion and hair, and awkward figures. I have seen but few who have differed from this description, and but one whom I thought beautiful, and her face has haunted me ever since. The females never wear hats but instead,

a black lace veil, thrown over the head and shoulders, which would be very becoming were they themselves prettier. I like their dress generally, which is far more modest than that of our ladies at home—not so much exposure of person.

Letters from Havana

There is railroad communication with Matanzas, Cardenas, etc. and on Thursday of last week we set forth for a little place called Guines, to stop there over night for the sake of visiting a fine sugar plantation. The plantation is called "La Amistad" and is the most profitable on the Island for its size. A sugar plantation is not interesting, save the process of manufacturing, but the coffee plantations are beautiful. The seeds grow on a bush, and this is the season when it is in blossom, and you see in places large fields perfectly level containing perhaps hundreds of acres, the whole of which seems at a little distance as if it were an immense plain of snow.

The country has not that appearance of fertility I had expected to see. This is owing to the fact that the section through which the railroad runs has been in constant cultivation for 50 years without a thing being done to it, and the soil is now exhausted. Cuba can never become anything till it passes into new hands, and a new spirit becomes infused in the people. The people are many of them conscious of this, and among the Creoles, there is much more of a revolutionary feeling than the success of the Lopez expedition[18] would lead one to suppose. The population is so thin and scattered, and the Creoles are so kept down that you cannot wonder that they did not make more of a movement to assist Lopez. They are now building their hopes on the election of Gen[l] Cass as President of the U. S. next year, when they expect

[18] Narciso Lopez (1798–1851) landed twice on the coast of Cuba, leading filibustering expeditions. The second time he was captured and executed at Havana, together with numerous supporters. Edward S. Wallace, *Destiny and Glory* (New York: 1957), 56–100.

"LA AMISTAD," SUGAR PLANTATION AT GUINES, CUBA

Lithograph by L. Marquier from a painting by Edward LaPlante

The New-York Historical Society

to receive his countenance if not the national aid and assistance. As far as Cass is concerned, they will be sadly disappointed.[19]

Havana is a walled city, and is divided about equally by the walls, the newer part of the City being built without. The front on the water is like the one half of an ellipse, and instead of wharves as we have, they have here a battlemented water wall of solid masonry surrounding the whole, between which and the first street is a wide walk often shaded with rows of trees. At every few hundred feet there is a fountain, some of which built as monuments to former Captains General are very beautiful.

They build the private houses apparently on two plans. Some front on the street with a low one-story building, while in the rear back of the courtyard will be the house itself. The others have a front of several stories high, entered into the court through a lofty arched way. The parlors of the houses will be often if

[19] Lewis Cass of Ohio was the Democratic candidate for President in 1848. Defeated by Zachary Taylor, Cass failed to be renominated by his party in 1852.

not generally in the older houses on a floor level with the street. As the windows are the size of a N. Y. shop window and they have no glass to them, you see all that goes on inside, and the family might as well almost live in the street. And yet the same windows are guarded like a prison with thick iron bars, and all the intercourse between the young people of different sexes is had through the bars.

They have no buildings erected for stores—no windows for display as with us. All that is necessary is to take the bars out of the window of a room and you have at once a dark place which they make a store, and which will often contain the most magnificent and richest articles. The houses are built throughout with the hardened mortar or with bricks, and wood is never used.

The servants are mostly slaves, though there are many free negroes here. Here you see slavery in its worst form, and yet their institutions are more favorable to the slave than in the southern part of our own land. The law allows a slave to purchase his liberty at any time from his master at the price he gave for him. As they are bought when green and untaught at low prices, they often take advantage of the knowledge they acquire to raise funds to purchase themselves.

Cardenas is a low place, just above the level of the water, and were it with us, every Easterly storm would overflow the whole of it. Here they have no tides to speak of. It has considerable business importance and in its neighborhood are some of the finest sugar plantations on the island.

Matanzas has a lovely situation, and in its vicinity did we first see Cuban scenery such as it really is. The city is the next to Havana in importance. It is situated at the head of a small bay running up from the ocean and forming the harbor, into which flow two small streams, after running through the city. From the bay the land rises on all sides, and back of the city into high hills. Across the valley the hills rise higher till far away they are capped by "El Pau de Matanzas," the highest mountain on the Island as our guide told us, and the resort of thousands of runaway

laves who there find safety from the pursuit of the Spaniards. Several years ago some Americans ascended it, trimmed a lofty tree into a flag staff, which still stands out in bold relief, and nailed the "Stars and Stripes" on to it. There they blew for three years despite the wrath of the Spaniards, who grumbled immensely but would not go up and take them down.

I have sent you home a quantity of sweetmeats, guava jelly, etc. It comes from the Dominica, which is the great establishment here. The Dominica adjoins the Plaso or evening promenade of the City and everyone adjourns to it after the music on the Plaso is over. We have about determined to go to New Orleans by a sailing packet.[20]

April 11, 1852. Steamboat Nashville, the Mississippi River

We left New Orleans on Thursday last in the good steamer Nashville whose destination and ours is the City of Nashville in the State of Tennessee. I was not sorry to change New Orleans of which I soon tired, for a sail on this giant of rivers. As yet the banks of the river with the exception of a few sand bluffs have been the same uniform low levels as below New Orleans, but this will change above. The river even yet runs almost through a wilderness, and it is only here and there that we see a small settlement, a plantation house with its array of negro huts, or perhaps only a house where reside a few wood cutters who supply the steamers. The low banks are subject to constant overflow, and whole acres are continually being washed away. We had intended to have laid over at Natchez, but circumstances combined to make us change our mind.

April 18, 1852. Nashville Inn, Nashville

I finish my letter at Nashville, which place we reached on Friday last after an eight day trip from New Orleans. Our voyage

[20] According to his visa, the traveller left Havana for New Orleans March 30, 1852, in "el vapor Amº Georgia [551 tons]."

A MISSISSIPPI STEAMBOAT RACE BETWEEN THE "BALTIC" AND THE "DIANA"

Lithograph from the painting by George F. Fuller, 1859

Courtesy of the University of Michigan Transportation Library

was very pleasant and we all enjoyed it. Our steamer was a very good one and the accommodations very comfortable.[21] You can have no idea of a Western high-pressure steamer and I don't know that I can convey one. They are very clumsy and ungraceful in appearance. The cabins for passengers, staterooms, etc., are all on what we would call the promenade deck. Then above this is their promenade deck, above that the cabins and rooms of the officers of the boat, and topping all like a huge steeple is the wheel house. Now that I have safely arrived I may tell you that the dangers of river navigation are very considerable. The first great danger arises from the snags and floating drift in the river, and many boats are wrecked by these, and the second from ex-

[21] The steamboat *Nashville* (479 tons) was built in 1849.

plosions, which are much more frequent than they should be, and are almost always attended with great loss of life. All the boats race and we had the pleasure of participating in one of the greatest races that they have had for several years. For seven or eight hundred miles we kept it up, night and day, and part of the time we were regularly neck and neck. You may judge of the recklessness of the officers from the circumstances that we were almost all the time running with over 300 pounds to the square inch of steam, while the Hudson River boats use from 17 to 20. Our adversary just managed to beat us, and would not have done so, had it not been for the rosin which we could see them throwing in the engines in barrels-full.

One of the greatest amusements are the negro hands on board. You have no conception of a negro at the North—to see them here you would think they lived but to enjoy themselves. Always gay, happy and thoughtless, they keep you in a continual roar by their odd remarks and still stranger actions. If you pass a boat on the river, half a dozen will each seize a log of wood, and convert it into an oar with which they violently row the air—while others will be bandying with the crew of the other boat. Every place they pass on the river they serenade, and the possession of a dime adds the finishing touch to their felicity.

From New Orleans to the mouth of the Ohio the scenery rarely changes. In a few places on the east bank there are high sand bluffs, and they take advantage of these usually to build a city, as Natchez, Memphis, etc. We reached Cairo in the evening —the whole place is under water—and therefore did not see the Ohio to the mouth of the Cumberland.

Nashville is 200 miles up the Cumberland. The channel seems as if cut out of the limestone which forms its banks, while the bluffs rise in places several hundred feet from the river, and they are as regular with the stones in perfectly horizontal layers as if laid by a mason.

Nashville is called the City of Rocks, and deserves its name.

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, AS THE AUTHOR SAW IT

Lithograph, *c.* 1851, in the I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection

Courtesy of The New York Public Library

It is built on a high hill on the bank of the river and on the extreme top of the hill is being built the new capitol, a fine large handsome building of white marble.[22] Nashville is the most fashionable city at the West, and the people are all very gay. The private houses are generally large and fine, and you might almost think yourself in Broadway, so well dressed are all the citizens.

Perhaps the finest plantation is that of the Hermitage, where Gen[l] Jackson lived and died. We visited it yesterday afternoon and were shown around. It is about 12 miles distant, the road a very fine McAdamized turnpike. The house is a fine large brick house, and in the garden are buried the President, his wife and

[22] The State capitol building was commenced in 1845 and first occupied by the Legislature in 1853. The suspension bridge shown in the accompanying illustration was completed in 1850. Its length was 700 feet and height 110 feet above low water mark (Nashville *City & Business Directory*, 1860, 32, 56). The Nashville Inn stood at the corner of Market Street and Public Square, near the City Hotel.

some other members of his family. There is a plain monument erected to his memory—very little show or pretense—of which there is very little need here as he lives yet in the memory of all his State.

President Polk also lived at Nashville. His house is in the city. It has a large garden in front, in the corner of which is a small open temple with a monument in the centre. This is the land of the rifle and the bowie knife, but you see little of it save in the faces of some of the natives, and a finer set of men can not be found—generally six feet and large in proportion.

April 24, 1852. Mammoth Cave

We left Nashville on Monday morning last, before daylight, and arrived at Bell's, seven miles from the Cave, at eleven in the evening, a distance of 90 miles. Bell is the proprietor of a house which, as "Bell's" is notorious over the whole of the Union, and the old man is one of the curiosities of the neighborhood. He has resided over 40 years within a few miles of the Cave, and has never yet seen it.[23]

All the preparations for a visit to the Cave are strange and interesting. Of course, you have lights, one of which is carried by each of the party. The Cave is divided by a subterranean river into two great subdivisions. There is one great avenue or artery running through each division and from these branch off the smaller avenues of which there are nearly one hundred and fifty of an average of one mile each. On our first expedition we aimed for the extreme end of the Cave across the river, distant nine miles from the entrance, but some of the ladies of the party gave out before we reached the end. The next day I visited this side of the Cave thoroughly and have since been to the end.

[23] The Mammoth Cave in Edmonson County, Kentucky, was known as early as 1797. After the War of 1812, when it was used for making saltpetre, the cave became a tourist attraction. Helen F. Randolph, *Mammoth Cave and the Cave Region of Kentucky* (Louisville: 1924); J. W. Turner, *Wonders of the Great Mammoth Cave of Kentucky* (Carrier Mills, Ill.: 1912).

The Mammoth Cave is more grand than beautiful. There are but few stalactites considering its great size, but the roof of some parts is formed of one complete incrustation of gypsum, white as snow and sparkling as diamonds, formed into all kinds and descriptions of most beautiful flowers, rosettes, etc. The Cave varies much in every respect, as to the height of the roof, extent of the avenues, size, etc. Of course a guide is absolutely necessary, and one of these, Stephen,[24] is almost as well known as the Cave. Some years ago a gentleman lost himself here, and though he was missed in five minutes, it took 20 or 30 men, and they were 41 hours in finding him. The atmosphere of the Cave is very even and salubrious, and never varies in temperature, however much may that of the air outside. The walking is rough and uneven, yet dry generally, and the atmosphere makes one oblivious of fatigue. Stephen sings well, and the echo gives his voice the effect of a full and powerful choir.

April 29, 1852. Cincinnati

We managed to tear ourselves away from the fascinating influences of the Cave on Monday last, and left at eight in the morning in a vehicle called in these diggings a "Yankee Wagon" to take us 45 miles to a small way-place called Elizabethtown. The route is chiefly through a dense forest, white with innumerable dogwood trees. We forded the Green River in real Kentucky style with our trunks in our laps to keep out the water, some three or four inches deep in the bottom of the wagon. Resting over at Elizabethtown that night, we took the stage the next morning for a ride of 45 miles to Louisville. The road strikes north to the Ohio River at its junction with the far-famed Salt River, which is ferried, stage and all, in a huge flat boat.

You have doubtless read of the freshet in the Ohio which is greater than they have had, with one exception, for 20 years.

[24] Stephen Bishop, a slave. See Rev. Horace Martin, *Pictorial Guide to the Mammoth Cave, Kentucky* (New York: 1851), 10.

The water in many places had formed rivers running parallel with the Ohio through the lower lands, and making islands of the little elevations, and these we forded. Fences were washed away, great flat boats anchored in cornfields and houses forming little islands till we reached the banks of the River and saw the high blue bank of the Indiana shore.

The road along the bank of the Ohio was inundated for some distance. Therefore we embarked the stage and passengers in a ferry scow, and rowed across the mouth of the Salt and up the Ohio till we reached terra firma and came on to Louisville. It is a fine large, thriving and busy city, at least that part of it which was visible. The levee (a large open square on the river) and the lower stones of the houses near the river were "drownded." The steamers were landing their passengers on what is usually a high bank far above the level of the water.

Remaining at Louisville one day, at eleven yesterday A.M. we took the steamer "Ben Franklin" for this place which we reached safely this A.M. at 4 o'clock. The scenery of the Ohio is a great relief after that of the Mississippi. The banks are usually high bold limestone bluffs densely wooded with great timber. Wherever the river deposits have made a level bottom land there is a busy village or a finely cultivated farm. The water has done great damage all along. We woke up this morning in Cincinnati. It is beautifully situated on a bend of the Ohio, shut in by high sand hills which surround it like the galleries of a theatre, making the city assume an oval shape. It is well built, and many of the houses evince much wealth and taste in its citizens. But no American city after it has been seen offers much to interest a traveller, and I am now ready to leave Cincinnati. I long to get home, yet my predilections for laziness render a life of ease and inaction spent thus travelling through the beautiful scenery of the West peculiarly pleasant and agreeable.[25]

[25] For a like journey described in letters written in 1856 from many of the same points, see Carlton H. Rogers, *Incidents of Travel in the Southern States and Cuba, with a description of the Mammoth Cave* (New York: 1862).

SUBSCRIPTION LIST.

WE, whose names are underwritten, having long enjoyed the blessings of peace and national prosperity, and participating also in the calamities of war with which the Almighty has been pleased in infinite wisdom to visit the United States—are desirous, as far as possible, of alleviating the sufferings to which our Fathers, Husbands, Brothers, and Friends are exposed in defence of their country;—have associated for the purpose of assisting to supply the *Soldiers of the United States* and the *Militia, on military duty*, with *Cloth Hoods, Yarn Stockings, Mockasons, and Mittens.*

We will advance such sums, or contribute such articles as are opposite to our names, and forward them to those Ladies who at this meeting have been appointed Managers and Members of the Board; viz.—

Mrs. General LEWIS, Presiding Manager, *Head-Quarters.*
Mrs. WILLIAM FEW, Treasurer, *Greenwich.*
Mrs. LUTHER BRADISH, Secretary, *No. 9 Pearl-street.*

MANAGERS.

Mrs. *David Gelston*, Greenwich.
—— *Edward Laight*, 340 Broadway
—— *Comfort Sands*, 25 N. Moore-str.
—— *Thomas Morris*, 84 Chamber-str.
—— *Marinus Willet*, Corlear's Hook.
—— *William Ross*, 208 Broadway.
Mrs. *Nathan Sandford*, 25 Pine-street.
Miss *H. Lewis.*
—— *M. Bleecker.*
—— *Louisa Lewis*, Robinson-street.
Mrs. *Daniel Smith*, 62 Broad-street.
Miss *Euphemia Mason*, 41 Warren-street.

Every person who subscribes the sum of two dollars, or the value thereof in Hoods, Stockings, Mockasons, or Mittens, shall be considered a member of the Society; and all Donations of the above articles, or Wool spun, or un-spun, or Cloth, or remnants of Cloth, will be gratefully received—and all Donations of Money will be faithfully applied for the above purposes.

MEM.—Those Ladies who are disposed to knit Mittens, are requested, if they can conveniently, to let them have one finger and a thumb.

SUBSCRIBERS' NAMES.	SUBSCRIPTIONS.	DONATIONS.	ARTICLES DONATED.
Mrs Gen[l] Lewis	2	30	
Mrs. Gelston	2	15	
Mrs. L. Thomi	2	10	
Mrs Wm Few	2	8	
Mr Wm Few		10	
Mrs Luther Bradish	2	10	
Mrs Willet	2	5	
Mrs E. W. Laight	2	2	
Miss Hunger	2	5	
Mrs Montgomery		10	10 Dr Merino wool
Miss Bleeker	2	—	
Mr Nathaniel Livingston	—	—	13 yds Flannel
Obed Wolcott Esq	—	5	
Mr Grace	—	3	
Mrs Bush	—	5	
Miss Hunger	2	5	
Two Ladies	—	4	

FIRST CIRCULAR OF THE STOCKING SOCIETY, 1814

(See footnote 8)

THE STOCKING, HOOD AND MOCKASON SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, 1814–1815

by Ray W. Irwin

Department of History, New York University

ONE OF THE more interesting developments in New York State during the War of 1812 was the emergence and functioning of numerous civilian volunteer organizations to which wartime needs gave rise. The declaration of war against Britain in June, 1812, found New York, and the United States generally, unprepared for the conflict which lay ahead. Strategically important New York State, with its long, exposed, and largely undefended frontiers was, in fact, throughout the greater portion of the war to remain in a highly precarious position. This insecurity was emphasized during most of the war years by American military reverses in the central theater of warfare, by the sufferings of troops and civilian population alike along the northern frontier, and by increasing threats to the safety of New York City.

Because of such circumstances, a large number of volunteer organizations of a non-military character sprang up in various parts of the State after the declaration of war. Most of these organized groups (committees of safety, defense, correspondence, and relief) were formed along New York's borders, at major danger points. Their membership was composed of the more prominent citizens, some of them veterans of the American Revolution, in the several localities. These committees, mothered by necessity and governmental unpreparedness, contributed greatly to the general war effort.

Groups of quite another kind—one of which is the subject of the present article—were organized by corps of patriotic women for the no-less-urgent purpose of supplying our troops with much-needed clothing against the winter rigors along New

York's exposed frontiers. Perhaps the earliest instances of such efforts were those made by the women of Newburgh and Hudson during the autumn and early winter of 1812. On December 5th of that year, William Ross, of Newburgh, wrote Governor Daniel D. Tompkins:

Accompanying this, your Excellency will receive a package of two hundred and eighty woolen stockings and eighty mittens; they are forwarded to you by the ladies of this village, with the request that you will send them to those of the Volunteer Corps now on duty on our northern frontiers whom your Excellency may suppose to be most in want of them.[1]

While the residents of Newburgh were donating these articles, the women of Hudson were, through their local agent, John Hathaway, forwarding an even larger supply of winter apparel to Albany. In a letter addressed to Hathaway and Ross jointly, Governor Tompkins acknowledged these donations as follows:[2]

Albany, December 9, 1812

Gentlemen: I have forwarded to the Militia of this State, remaining in service on the Champlain station, the following quantities of woolen stockings, socks and mittens, presented to them by the amiable and benevolent ladies of Hudson and New Burgh.

674 Socks 100 Stockings 40 Mittens	By the ladies of the City of Hudson
280 Stockings 80 Mittens	By the ladies of the Village of New Burgh

Our faithful and patriotic fellow Citizens, who are engaged in the arduous duty of protecting the exposed inhabitants of the Northern frontier, took the field in a mild season without a competent supply of warm clothing for a winter Campaign. Their wants and sufferings will be greatly alleviated by the seasonable donation of the ladies of Hudson and New Burgh.

Besides the comfort in point of clothing, which the Militia on duty will derive from this example of female tenderness and generosity, it evinces

[1] This letter was printed in the Newburgh *Political Index*, December 15, 1812.

[2] Hugh Hastings, ed., *Public Papers of Daniel D. Tompkins* (Albany: 1898–1902), III, 211–212.

an approbation of their conduct and a mindfulness of their services which will cheer and support them under fatigues & hardships, and which will animate others to emulate their courage and constancy.

As the articles came to this place under your direction, I take the liberty, in behalf of our brethren in arms, of desiring you to tender to the fair donors, a respectful acknowledgment of their Country, and an assurance that it will be recollected with gratitude and affection.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, with great respect & esteem, Your Ob't. Serv't.

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS

John Hathaway, Esqr—Hudson
and
William Ross, Esqr—New Burgh

If the approach of winter in 1812 spurred only a few civilian groups to efforts such as those exerted by the women of Newburgh and Hudson, the extremely destructive British raids of December, 1813, along the Niagara frontier, impelled inhabitants throughout the entire State to concerted action in providing some measure of relief to the thousands of homeless Niagara sufferers whose plight was widely publicized and was perhaps never more eloquently expressed than in the following letter from "The Committee of Safety and Relief at Canandaigua":[3]

Canandaigua, January 8, 1814

Gentlemen,—Niagara county, and that part of Genessee which lies west of Batavia, are completely depopulated. All the settlements in a section forty miles square, and which contained more than twelve thousand souls, are effectually broken up. These facts you are undoubtedly acquainted with; but the distresses they have produced none but an eye-witness can thoroughly appreciate. Our roads are filled with people, many of whom have been reduced from a state of competency and good prospects to the last degree of want and sorrow. So sudden was the blow by which they have been crushed that no provision could be made either to elude or meet it. The fugitives from Niagara county especially were dispersed under circumstances of so much terror that in some cases mothers find themselves wandering with strange children, and children are accompanied by such as have no other sympathies with them than those of common sufferings. Of the families thus separated all the members can

[3] This letter, addressed to Philip S. Van Rensselaer and others, appears in George S. Conover, ed., and Lewis Cass Aldrich, comp., *History of Ontario County* (Syracuse: 1893), 133–134.

never again meet in this life; for the same violence which has made them beggars has forever deprived them of their heads, and others of their branches. Afflictions of the mind, so deep as has been allotted to these unhappy people, we cannot endure. They can probably be subdued only by His power who can wipe away all tears. But shall we not endeavor to assuage them? To their bodily wants we can certainly administer. The inhabitants of this village have made large contributions for their relief, in provisions, clothing and money, and we have been appointed, among other things, to solicit further relief for them from our wealthy and liberal-minded fellow-citizens. In pursuance of this appointment, we may ask you, gentlemen, to interest yourselves particularly in their behalf. We believe that no occasion has ever occurred in our country which presented stronger claims upon individual benevolence, and we humbly trust that whoever is willing to answer these claims will always entitle himself to the precious reward of active charity. We are, gentlemen, with great respect,

William Shepard	Myron Halley
Thaddeus Chapin	Thomas Beals
Moses Atwater	Phineas P. Bates
N. Gorham	

Committee of Safety and Relief at Canandaigua

The response of State and local authorities and of private individuals to this disaster was prompt and generous; and with this aid—especially in money, food, and clothing—many persons who would probably have perished without such assistance were enabled to survive the terrible winter of 1813–1814 along the Niagara frontier.[4]

As the war progressed, the frontier soldiers' need for supplemental winter clothing remained acute. There was then nothing comparable to our latter-day National Red Cross to organize and direct local energies toward meeting such needs. But what the women of Newburgh and Hudson had done on their own initiative in 1812, the women of other communities could and would do as subsequent winters approached. How one such group was organized in New York City and what it accomplished can still be related in significant detail, because it kept regular minutes of

[4] *Ibid.*, 133. The legislature appropriated $50,000 to provide relief; the Common Council of New York City, $3,000; and the Common Council of Albany, $1,000. Numerous other public and private agencies made substantial contributions.

its activities and because those minutes have been preserved at The New-York Historical Society.[5]

On October 9, 1814, with the prospect of war continuing at least through the ensuing winter, a small group of patriotic and socially prominent New York City women met at the home of Mrs. Morgan Lewis[6] and formed an organization which they first named "The Stocking Society," but were later to re-name "The Stocking, Hood and Mockason Society of New York." The fifteen women who attended that meeting transacted a considerable amount of business at this initial session. They agreed, first of all, that the objective of the society should be the "procuring [of] Socks, Mockasons, Mittens and Cloth Hoods for the Soldiers of the United States & the Militia of the State of New York now employed in the defence of their Country." The group then selected a presiding manager, a treasurer, and a secretary, and drafted instructions regarding the duties of those officers. Mrs. Morgan Lewis was chosen presiding manager, Mrs. William Few, treasurer, and Mrs. Luther Bradish, secretary. It was further resolved that the remainder of the persons present should be designated simply as "Managers," and that they were to "purchase the Articles wanted, see that they are properly made up, & report to the Board at their Meetings." The group also resolved "that Every Person subscribing the Sum of two Dollars, or the value thereof in the above Articles shall be considered a member of the Society." Still another resolution[7] provided for the printing of fifty copies of the subscription form reproduced herewith.[8]

[5] Ms. Minutes of the Stocking Society, in the Luther Bradish Papers, The New-York Historical Society. On these Minutes—hereafter cited in abbreviated form—this present article is largely based.

[6] Mrs. Lewis was the wife of Major-General Morgan Lewis (1754–1844), then commander of the Third Military District on the Niagara frontier, who had been Chief Justice (1801) and Governor (1804–1807) of New York and became sixth president (1832–1835) of The New-York Historical Society.—R. W. G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday* (1954), 73–74.

[7] Minutes, October 9, 1814.

[8] Luther Bradish Papers (NYHS), Stocking Society. The above printed copy of the society's first subscription list bears the names of eighteen subscribers, together with the contributions which they made and obtained. Minutes of the final meeting of the society, January 27, 1815, express grateful acknowledgment to "Messrs Smith and Forman for printing Subscription Papers."

These forms were distributed to the managers at the society's next meeting, held October 14th at the Lewis home, for circulation among prospective contributors. At the same meeting the society appointed two four-member committees: the first "to ascertain the quality & price of such Cloths as may be suitable for Hoods and Mockasons, and how much it will be proper to give for the making up of the above Articles"; the second "to enquire the price of Mittens, what quantity can be purchased already made, what the price of Yarn, whether Mittens can be knit in time to answer the purposes of the Society and at what time."[9]

At the society's third meeting, held October 17th at the home of its secretary, Mrs. Luther Bradish,[10] the two committees presented their reports regarding articles and materials needed and available, and received additional instructions. The "Cloth Committee" was authorized to spend $275 for the purchase of cloth, and the "Mitten Committee" $50 for the purchase of mittens. A resolution was also approved "That the Secretary be requested to publish in the New York Gazette, the National Advocate, the Evening Post, and the Columbian the following Advertisement":[11]

A number of Ladies having associated for the purpose of assisting to supply the Soldiers of the United States and the Militia on Military duty (particularly those on the Lakes) with Cloth Hoods, Mockasons, Socks

[9] Minutes, October 14, 1814.

[10] No. 9 Pearl Street, New York City. Mrs. Bradish was the wife of Luther Bradish (1783–1863), diplomat and statesman, who became Lieutenant Governor of New York (1839–1843) and tenth president of The New-York Historical Society (1850–1863). His papers fill fourteen boxes on the shelves of the Society's manuscript collection.—R. W. G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday* (1954), 94.

[11] *The Columbian*, October 20, 1814, had already announced the formation of the society, its objectives, and the names and addresses of the managers. This was one of the earliest newspaper notices about the society, but all New York City newspaper publishers who were approached by the managers seem to have helped publicize, without charge, the work of the society. The Minutes of the society's meeting of January 27, 1815, contain the following acknowledgment: "The Society beg leave to acknowledge their obligations to the publishers of The New York Gazette, The National Advocate, The Evening Post, & The Columbiad [Columbian], for gratuitously publishing in their respective Papers, the advertisements &c of the Society."

Seven daily papers were published in New York City in 1814. James M. Lee, *History of American Journalism* (New York: 1923), 142, estimates their circulation thus: "*The Mercantile Advertiser* had a circulation of 2000; *The Gazette*, 1750; *The Evening Post*, 1600; *The Commercial Advertiser*, 1200; *The Courier*, 920; *The Columbian*, 870; *The National Advocate*, 800."

ınd Mittens inform the public that Donations of any of the above Articles (or Cloth or Remnants of Cloth, or wool, spun or unspun) will be gratefully received, and all Donations of Cash will be faithfully applied to the purchase of the same. Those Persons who are disposed to promote the intentions of this association are informed that the Ladies, whose names are hereto annexed have been appointed Managers, and will receive all Donations and apply the same to the objects of the association.

Mrs Gen Lewis, Head Quarters

Mrs. Wm. Few	Mrs. David Gelston	Mrs. Marinus Willet
Mrs. Philip Livingston	Mrs. Edward Laight	Mrs. Wm. Ross
Mrs. Thomas Morris	Miss H. Lewis	Miss M. Bleecker

By order of the Board.

H. E. G Bradish Sect[y]

The society was now fully organized and awaiting contributions to supplement those which the original members had made. Interestingly enough, the first fairly large donation from outsiders came from a group of young men who were members of a short-lived social and literary organization known as "The Ugly Club." Fitz-Greene Halleck was a member of this oddly-named body, and its elected "Poet Laureate." The group held its meetings at No. 4 Wall Street, at what in 1814 was known as "Baker's Porter House."[12] Regarding the club's name and its membership requirements, the major biographer of Fitz-Greene Halleck has written:

> The fact is that the members, in true Knickerbocker style, were satirizing and burlesquing their own position; that instead of admitting to their number only those qualified by extreme ugliness, they were extending the privileges of the club only to those deemed the most handsome and foppish.[13]

The presentation of a gift of $100 by the Ugly Club to the Stocking Society was accompanied by a considerable amount of formality. The Minutes of the society state, under date of Oc-

[12] I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York: 1926), V, 1462. Stokes states that the house was named after Joseph Baker.

[13] Nelson F. Adkins, *Fitz-Greene Halleck: An Early Knickerbocker Wit and Poet* (New Haven: 1930), 33–37. Of the club, this biographer further states: "Formed on a whimsical and superficial basis, the club, whose novelty alone had once held the members together . . . began to pall on the members, and in time simply died a natural death." It seems to have dissolved about April 5, 1815.

tober 28th, that Mrs. Lewis "communicated to the Board the intention of the Ugly Club to make this Society a Donation to be presented in Person with an Address by a Committee of the Club chosen for that purpose: It was therefore resolved that there be an extra meeting of this Board at Mrs Gen Lewis on Tuesday next for the purpose of receiving the Committee of the Ugly Club."[24]

At this "extra meeting," held November 1st, a committee consisting of three members of the club ("Messrs Stryker, Delancy & Lott") appeared for the address and presentation. In presenting the gift, Mr. Stryker, president of the club, fulsomely praised the ladies present for their patriotic efforts, and expressed regret that the Ugly Club's donation could not have been larger. The address, as reported by Mrs. Bradish, closed with the words:

> Suffer me, Madam, to remark, that my influence in the councils of the Club over which I have the honor to preside, will never be denied to you, or your present coadjutors; and to pledge as our undeviating sentiment that whilst the pride of Beauty amongst our Sex, and its constant attendants, consummate vanity and debasing foppery are treated by us with marked contempt we shall ever admire the Attractions of female character, and, above all, laud the virtue of the American Fair.

The Stocking Society, in a reply made by Mrs. Lewis, thanked the Ugly Club delegation for the donation and for Mr. Stryker's address, and, perhaps somewhat pointedly, added:

> In return for which [donation and sentiments expressed] they [the ladies of the society] beg leave to add, that they have no doubt should the Ugly Club, or any of its members be called upon to share in the dangers of the field with the Gallant Soldiers for whom they have so liberally assisted to provide, they with those Heroes will share in the Gratitude and admiration of their Country, and add one more example to many others how much Personal Beauty is surpassed by Virtue and heroism.

Before adjournment of this meeting, Mrs. Bradish was instructed "to acknowledge in the Public Prints the receipt of the Donation of the Ugly Club, with Donations in Cash, Cloth, Merino Wool,

[24] Minutes, October 28, 1814.

JACOB J. BROWN (1775–1828)

Major General, War of 1812
By James Herring after Jarvis

The New-York Historical Society

MRS. MORGAN LEWIS (1757–1833)

Presiding Mngr., Stocking Society
18th-century miniature (FARL)

Marchesa Anne Pellegrini-Quarantotti

Hoods &c reported by different Managers at this and preceeding Meetings."[15]

Donations of cash, finished articles, and materials accumulated sufficiently by the end of November for the society to send 300 hoods, 300 moccasins, and 300 pairs of mittens to Sackett's Harbor for distribution among troops there. The cloth committee reported, November 30th, that these articles had been delivered to Major Benjamin Romaine,[16] to be forwarded by him to General Jacob Brown, for distribution among troops under the General's command. The hoods, moccasins, and mittens were accompanied by the following letter from the society to General Brown:

[15] *Ibid.*, November 1, 1814. The Ms. Proceedings of the Committee of Defence, New York, 1814–1815, 252-253, indicate that on August 17, 1814, the Ugly Club had voluntarily provided twenty-five men to work on fortifications in Brooklyn. (Ms. vol. at NYHS.)

[16] Major Benjamin Romaine (sometimes spelled Romain, or Romeyn), deputy quartermaster general.

Sir

A Society of Ladies of New York, anxious to shield from the rigors of winter, to the extent of their slender means, the Heros who by their glorious successes, have secured to many the social Blessings and comforts of their domestic firesides, have with the assistance of some generous Subscribers been enabled to send directed to your care, & to be distributed as you may think proper among the Centinels and Soldiers of the army you command, who are most exposed to the inclemency of weather, and most in want of such articles, a number of socks, stockings, mittens, & hoods—This testimony of our endeavours to be useful to those brave men, to whom our Country is so much indebted for protection, is far from equalling our wishes, yet if in a small degree it alleviates the hardships of a military life, and affords comfort to any of our Countrymen, engaged in the Common Cause, in which we are all deeply interested, we shall not think they have been exerted in vain.

We flatter ourselves Gen Brown will excuse the liberty we take in committing to his charge, the offering of our Society, assured that he will willingly encourage and patronize any attempt that will tend to the welfare of his gallant associates, whom he has led to glory and who are sharers with himself in the gratitude and admiration which glows in every patriot bosom. That a gracious Providence may continue successful your honourable endeavours to serve our Country and that spiritual and temporal blessings may ever attend yourself and the officers and Soldiers entrusted to your Care, is the sincere wish of those who with great respect and consideration subscribe themselves

Yrs &c

Maj General Brown
Sacketts Harbor[17]

During the first week of December, a change occurred in the presiding managership of the society. The Minutes of the December 5th meeting state that "Mrs Gen Lewis in consequence of being about to leave the City resigned her Seat at this Board and took leave after having expressed her regret that she should no longer enjoy the pleasure she had received at the Meetings of the Association." The group, after voting thanks to Mrs. Lewis for her leadership in the work of the society, proceeded to elect

[17] This undated letter (apparently a retained draft of the one sent to General Brown) is in the Luther Bradish Papers (NYHS), Stocking Society, as is the general's reply to "Mrs. Gertrude Lewis," from Brownville, dated December 22, 1814, and marked "Private," in which he explained that he had "delayed answering your very flattering communication until the arrival of the Articles presented to the troops."

Mrs. Philip Livingston as her successor. This change in headship of the society appears to have been accompanied by only one important modification of the organization's program of activity. In a newly printed "Subscription List," showing "Mrs. Philip Livingston, Presiding Manager (Mrs. Gen. Lewis resigned)," the second and final paragraphs of the previous "List" as reproduced above were omitted and the following significant addition was made:[18]

> . . . and having already forwarded a number of those articles [Cloth Hoods, Yarn Stockings, Mockasons, and Mittens] to our Northern Frontiers, [the Society] now propose to appropriate the small residue of their funds, and such further donations as a patriotic and benevolent public may bestow, in endeavouring to render more comfortable, during the severities of this inclement season, those gallant men, who are more immediately employed in the protection of the Harbour and City of New-York.[19]
>
> For the aid necessary to carry their purpose into effect, the Society look to a generous public, and under the strong motives of patriotism and gratitude which exist, and cannot but influence in the present case, they feel confident of the success of their appeal.

This new circular indicates that the society was beginning to direct its attention more to the needs of troops in and about New York City—a policy which had been decided upon even before the resignation of Mrs. Lewis.[20] There were many troops in the New York City area, and they were poorly equipped with winter apparel. Furthermore, the finances of the State and Federal governments were in such bad condition that it seemed unlikely the servicemen in and about the city would soon be paid. Only extraordinary measures by the Committee of Defence and by Gov-

[18] Printed copy in the Luther Bradish Papers (NYHS), Stocking Society.

[19] "Here in New York we built our defenses around the harbor and, in spite of them, lived in fear of invasion during the War of 1812. . . . In fact, the [New-York Historical] Society became so jittery that its library was packed up and removed from the all-too-conspicuous Government House. . . . By August of 1814 the city was again becoming very nervous over the possibility of bombardment and occupation by the British fleet and so the more valuable books of the Society's library were once more packed up . . . for removal from the city should the necessity arise. . . ." —R. W. G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday* (New York: 1954), 29, 40, 44.

[20] Minutes, November 30, 1814.

ernor Daniel D. Tompkins, successor of General Morgan Lewis as commander of the Third Military District, eventually made possible the raising of funds to pay the troops by Christmas Eve.[21]

Meanwhile Mrs. Bradish, the secretary, was receiving numerous expressions of interest in the work of what had gradually come to be styled "The Stocking, Hood and Mockason Society of New York." One communication, dated December 9, 1814, ran:

> Colonel Hawkins tenders respectful compliments to Mrs. Bradish and informs her that the Tammany Society have passed a resolution to contribute pecuniary aid to advance the laudible and humane views of the ladies association to relieve our suffering soldiers. As this aid is to be obtained by subscription, he asks the favor of your giving to Mr. White the bearer forty or fifty subscription papers.[22]

The Tammany Society—which had, it might be noted, contributed many hundreds of man-days of labor to the fortifying of New York City in 1814—promptly received fifty copies of the Subscription List.[23]

In mid-December Mrs. Bradish received a substantial donation of mittens, socks, hoods, wool, and cash from "the Inhabitants of Rhinebeck." A similar contribution, including "51 prs of yarn Socks and Stockings" and "26 prs of woolen Gloves," together with other apparel and materials, was made by "the Ladies of the Village and Neighborhood of Kinderhook." The society also received "$41 collected by Mrs. Jemima Lot from the Ladies of

[21] The Ms. Proceedings of the Committee of Defence, New York, 1814–1815 (NYHS), 187, state that in consequence of these efforts, it was possible "not only to supply the wants of the several departments, to cause the works of Defence to go on with rapidity, to procure whatever might be deemed necessary for Defence, but also to provide many things for the comfort and convenience of their fellow citizens—who had left their families and domestic comforts and who were in Arms for the Defence of our City."

[22] Luther Bradish Papers (NYHS), Stocking Society. Memorandum from Colonel [Samuel?] Hawkins to Mrs. Bradish, December 9, 1814. Colonel Samuel Hawkins commanded a regiment of volunteers in and about New York City during the War of 1812.

[23] Minutes, December 16, 1814. The Ms. Proceedings of the Committee of Defence, New York, 1814–1815, 252–253, 264–265, indicate that the Tammany Society had provided 800 men to labor on fortifications in Brooklyn, August 30, and 400 men to work there September 12, 1814.

Flat Bush."[24] The city newspapers, too, were generous in the allotment of free space to the work of the society. When Mrs. Bradish wrote the newspaper publishers, "The Stocking, Hood and Mockason Society request your Bills for any charges you may have against them for advertisements &c in your Paper," the persons addressed declined to make any charge. *The Columbian* indicated that its only "charge" to the members of the society was "to increase and extend their benevolent and patriotic labors."[25]

During the closing weeks of its existence, the society sent hundreds of hoods, mittens, and moccasins to commanding officers in the New York City area, for distribution among troops at numerous points: Governor's Island, Ellis Island, Bedloe's Island, Sandy Hook, forts on Long Island, Harlem Heights, and elsewhere. Each consignment was accompanied by a letter from the society to the officer, or officers, to whom the parcels were forwarded for distribution.

Representative of the correspondence carried on between the society and these officers are two letters transcribed into the society's Minutes, December 30, 1814—the first from Mrs. Bradish to Major James L. Wadsworth, the second his reply. Mrs. Bradish wrote:

Sir

The Ladies of the Stocking, Hood & Mockason Society of New York sensible of the Hardships & privations to which the gallant men who are engaged in the defence of our Harbour must necessarily be exposed and desirous as far as they are able of contributing their aid in alleviating those Hardships and adding to their Comfort take the liberty of sending herewith directed to you 50 Hoods 50 prs of Mockasons and 50 prs of Mittens which they beg you will have the goodness to receive and distribute among the Soldiers and Sentinels under your immediate Command at Sandy Hook *whose Service* and situation may most require the use of such Articles

By Order of the Board
H. E. G. Bradish Sec[y]

[24] Minutes, November 30, 1814.

[25] Luther Bradish Papers (NYHS), Stocking Society. This undated memorandum (which was probably circulated by Mrs. Bradish personally) bears the names of a number of persons who declined to charge the society for publicity given its activities.

To this letter Major Wadsworth made the following reply:

Madam

In behalf of the Officers and Men under my Command I beg leave to return to yourself and Ladies of the Stocking, Hood and Mockason Society my sincere thanks for their present of 50 Hoods 50 prs of Mittens 50 prs of Mockasons which will greatly alleviate the sufferings of the Sentinels at this bleak post.

Many are the sufferings of the Soldier probably never fully known but by experience. Without a wish to enumerate any further than your kind offices excite their recollection permit me to observe that when relief comes from a source where want surely never could dictate and from a Society of Females, it calls to the mind of the Sentinel (while pacing his Solitary Post at stormy midnight) a peaceful *Home, Wife, Children and Friends* for which he again vows to sacrifice his Life or maintain those liberties and blessings bequeathed to him by his Fathers—

With Respect and Esteem Ladies I am

Your most Obed^{t} Serv^{t}
James L. Wadsworth
Major 27th Inft^{y}
Sandy Hook

The society's Minutes of a meeting held at the home of Mrs. William Ross, January 15, 1815, state that "The Board having appropriated all the funds of the Society & having no prospect of receiving further Subscriptions or Donations resolve therefore That the Board adjourn to meet again on the 23^{d} of Jan^{y} at Mrs Bradishes for the purpose of closing the concerns of the Society and that the Secretary in the meantime prepare for publication a general Report of the proceedings of the Society." A meeting was held as scheduled, but the weather was so bad that only six members attended. Before adjourning, however, the group made provision for forwarding a small number of hoods and mittens that the society had ready for distribution, and arranged for the use of the remaining materials and cash on hand. The group also discussed a draft of the general report which the secretary had been instructed, at the January 15th meeting, to prepare.[20]

At the society's final meeting, January 27, 1815, Mrs. Bradish presented her report. This briefly summarized the creation and

[20] Minutes, January 23, 1815.

activities of the society, and its gratitude for the amount of public support received. The report also contained a statement of total cash and materials given to the society, and the number of articles distributed by it. Through donations totaling $775.25 in cash, plus a limited quantity of finished articles and various materials, and work done by members of the society, the organization had sent to needy troops a total of 137 pairs of socks and stockings, 617 hoods, 367 pairs of moccasins, and 442 pairs of mittens.

In the above distribution of Articles, [*the secretary's report stated*,] this Society, while they regret that their limited means have not enabled them to Contribute more liberally in each particular Case, have experienced much gratification from the very flattering Terms in which the receipt of the several Articles has been acknowledged by the Officers to whose Care they have been directed, and from the Assurances of those Gentlemen that they have conduced very much to the Comfort of those for whom they were intended.

On that modest and pleasing note the admirably conducted work of the Stocking, Hood and Mockason Society of New York came to a close.[27] The society's record provides an unassuming footnote to the history of the War of 1812. It is, however, a record worthy of remembrance, illustrating as it does one of the many ways in which, during that early conflict, groups of American women in perhaps countless communities devoted time and effort to the nation's defense through the alleviation of wartime distress. The record may well serve, too, as a symbol of the efforts of generations of women, concerned about their soldiers' comforts, to mitigate the consequences of governmental short-sightedness and inefficiency.

[27] *Ibid.*, January 27, 1815. See, also, Rocellus S. Guernsey, *New York City and Vicinity During the War of 1812–'15* (2 vols.; New York: 1889, 1895), II, 430–431. In evaluating the work of the society to provide troops with warm apparel, Guernsey has written: "Many donations were made for this benevolent object, and substantial benefits were derived from it by the distributions made by the officers of the army and navy in the Northern and Western borders of the United States." Minutes of the society—especially those of the November 30, 1814, meeting—quote numerous letters of appreciation from officers to whom articles were sent for distribution.

AN 18TH-CENTURY CONNECTICUT VALLEY DOORWAY IS ADDED TO THE SOCIETY'S PRENTIS COLLECTION

by Richard J. Koke, *Curator of the Museum*

FOR SOME 185 years a dignified mid-18th-century home, the Curtiss-Robinson house, stood alongside the main highway traversing the Connecticut town of Southington, about half-way between New Haven and Hartford. Surrounded by black locust trees brought from the Holy Land in the 19th century by one of its former occupants, it was long pointed out as one of Southington's ancient landmarks, possessing a lovely entrance doorway with fluted side pilasters and rosettes and a broken-arch pediment typical of many a fine colonial home in the Connecticut Valley.

It was originally the abode of a Southington taverner and then of a minister who served here for forty-one years, and the birthplace of the latter's son who became one of the foremost philologists, geographers, and Biblical scholars of his time. In 1951 the house was badly damaged by fire, but this calamity enabled The New-York Historical Society to add to its famed Prentis Collection of colonial New England furnishings a doorway representative of the refined craftsmanship of the Connecticut Valley joiner.

The first name associated with the property on which the Curtiss-Robinson house eventually was constructed was that of the Reverend Jeremiah Curtiss (1706–1795), born in Stratford on the Housatonic and subsequently a Yale graduate, who in 1728 was ordained minister of the Southington church in which he served until his dismissal in 1754. In compliance with one of the stipulations of his call, he was given a tract of land north of the town known as the "society lot" on which he erected a home in

CURTISS-ROBINSON HOUSE, N. MAIN ST., SOUTHINGTON, CONN.

As it looked after the fire of January 14, 1951

Photograph by Charles T. Miller, 1951 (NYHS)

which he lived until his death. This building stood until within a few years prior to 1875.[1]

The southerly part of the Curtiss farm, lying between his home and the town, passed from the minister to his son Samuel (1737–1801), a native who spent his entire life in Southington, and it was probably he who built, presumably around 1766, the two-story frame structure on the east side of the highway which was to be known as the Curtiss-Robinson house. In layout, it was similar to many another New England farmhouse. The main doorway entered into a small hallway which abutted onto the

[1] The home of the Reverend Curtiss was situated not far distant from that occupied in 1875 by his great-grandson, John Curtis, on the east side of the highway north of the later site of the Curtiss-Robinson house. John Curtis's home is indicated on the map of Southington township in Baker and Tilden's *Atlas of Hartford City and County*, 1869.

large central chimney, on either side of which were two spacious chambers, and in the rear, running the entire length of the house, were the kitchen and buttery. The second-floor duplicated the room arrangement and hallway of the first.

Nothing is known of Samuel's association with the dwelling, other than his ownership. For a few months during the American Revolution he served as a private, but the major occupation of his life centered around his activity as a taverner in the hostelry he maintained at the south end of Southington. One may presume that Samuel, who sired a family of nine children, also dispensed cheerful hospitality in his home on the Curtiss farm.

The person, however, who was most closely associated with the dwelling was the Reverend William Robinson (1754–1825), an enterprising Man of God and likewise a graduate of Yale, who, accepting a call from Southington, came here in 1780 to live for the remainder of his life among people who listened to his preachings for more than four decades. William tarried for a while with his new bride in rented quarters, but on August 19, 1782, he purchased from Samuel Curtiss for £900 the taverner's homestead and about 45 acres of land fronting on the highway along which the French Army had marched on its way to Yorktown in 1781. His adjoining neighbors were his predecessors in the Southington ministry: the Reverend Jeremiah Curtiss on the north, and on the south the Reverend Benjamin Chapman, who had served in the pastorate from 1756 to 1774.

The new minister was a most remarkable and shrewd man. Southington itself was a poor community at that date, and it was clearly impossible for a clergyman to support himself on the meager salary he received. During the forty-one years of his ministry, from 1780 to 1821, William Robinson cared faithfully for his church and neglected nothing of the duties he owed his congregation, but the necessity of maintaining a livelihood forced him to cast about for additional means of support. With borrowed money and an astute mind he laid the foundations for his success. Three years after his first purchase of 1782 he ac-

quired about four more acres to the south for £48, and by gradual additions increased his holdings in a few years to about seventy acres.

Scarce a year passed in which he did not make additional purchases of land in other parts of the town. That discerning observer of his times, the Reverend Ezra Stiles, scholar, clergyman, and President of Yale College, wrote that when the Reverend Mr. Robinson first settled in Southington he was "worth nothing" but within ten years had become possessed of a farm of 150 acres, "a good two-story house," forty hives of bees, about one hundred cows, and eight or ten pairs of oxen. He rented out his lands, bees, and livestock, and not long after this, when he had increased his herd to 150 cattle, Stiles took care to include Robinson's name in a listing of "wealthy ministers in Connecticut." By 1800 he had become one of the richest landowners in the town, with some 300 acres and a sawmill and gristmill.

In the pulpit, on the farm, and on the country highways the Reverend William Robinson was a familiar sight. His first wife had died of smallpox in April 1782 before they had opportunity to enjoy the comfort of the Southington manse, and thereafter he married three more times, and twice again became a widower. His second wife died of consumption in 1784, and his third wife of measles in 1789. In 1790 he married his fourth spouse, Elisabeth Norton, and with her he shared a happy union of thirty-four years.

The atmosphere of the busy domicile, in which nine of his ten children were born, savored more of the farm than of the study. The kitchen served as a common sitting room and was busy with the hum of spinning wheels, while in the nearby wash house was heard the steady click of the loom. The Robinson sons who survived infancy were brought up to labor with the hired men in the fields until they were in their early teens, and the minister himself maintained active supervision of the farm until his youngest son returned home from Yale in 1821 to take principal charge.

Robinson arose early from force of habit, and travellers whose

journeys took them along the dark highway in the early morning hours often spied the light in his study window as he prepared his sermons. When daylight appeared he would tend to his garden and labor in the fields, and then go about town on the duties attending his congregation. His hospitality was well known, and he kept what at one time was called a "minister's tavern" where he welcomed his fellow divines. Occasionally, too, though not frequently, he received young men into his family for instructing them for admission to Yale College.

The Southington home was the birthplace of the minister's noted son Edward (1794–1863), the sixth of his children, who in early life was of a delicate constitution and shared only in the lightest labors on the farm. But Edward was of a scholarly bent of mind, and after his graduation from college he pursued a career which brought him to the faculty of Andover Theological Seminary, and in 1837 a professorship of Biblical Literature at the Union Thelogical Seminary in New York, where he taught to the time of his death in 1863. He travelled in the Holy Land in 1838 and 1852, and on one of his trips brought back the black locust trees which he planted around the house in Southington. His great work on *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petraea* (1841) represents an epoch in critical historical and geographic research, and his writings are still regarded as among the finest on Biblical lands.

After the lengthy Robinson tenure, the house passed through other hands and closed its career as a dwelling on January 14, 1951, when fire ravaged the rear of the house and one of the front chambers on the ground floor to such an extent that further occupancy was impossible. Through the fortunate interest of Thomas Williams of Litchfield, the attention of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy and Dr. Edmund Astley Prentis was called to the forlorn remains of the house, which, despite the fire, still possessed much of its fine woodwork as well as the spacious doorway. Mrs. Murphy and Dr. Prentis, who in 1950–51 had already presented their splendid collection of New England period rooms and

DOORWAY AND FAÇADE OF THE CURTISS-ROBINSON HOUSE, *c.* 1766

As installed, 1958, with restored cornicings on the side pilasters, in the Prentis Gallery at The New-York Historical Society

Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy and Dr. Edmund Astley Prentis in memory of their mother, Mrs. Edmund Astley Prentis, Sr.

colonial furnishings to the Society, immediately acquired those parts of the dwelling which had escaped the flames and presented the doorway and façade to the Society in memory of their mother, Mrs. Edmund Astley Prentis, Sr.

Prior to dismantling, the building was completely photographed, careful measurements were taken, plans and elevations were prepared, and each piece of woodwork was numbered to facilitate reinstallation. The doorway, façade, and interior woodwork were carefully removed and brought to New York by the Society's staff, where it was cleaned of many coats of thickly encrusted paint by George Bruchiss and installed in 1958 in the Prentis Gallery by Garrett H. Winter and Louis Briganti of the Maintenance Department.

The removal of paint disclosed the outlines of the original door lock, the old keyhole and doorknob openings which had been closed up, and the contours of cornicing around the side pilasters which had disappeared at some subsequent date. Most interesting, though, was the revelation that the door was of later 18th-century date than the construction of the house. The removal of paint disclosed the outline of a Federal-period doorknocker which, with other evidence of construction, lent credence to the belief that the original portal was of a double-door variety, and that some thirty years after its erection, probably about the turn of the century, the Reverend William Robinson added wider jambs to the door and narrowed the entranceway to permit the use of the smaller single door which remained in place until the last days of the house.

The pilaster cornicings have been reproduced in their original shape, the keyhole and doorknob openings have been reopened, and the windows have been refitted with wide-muntined sashes, expertly antiqued by Gabor Kollath of the Museum staff. As now displayed, the doorway and façade presents the distinctive appearance of its early days when the Southington taverner and the farmer-minister found comfort within one of New England's colonial homes which fortunately has been partially saved from the destructive fate which overcame so many others.[2]

[2] In the preparation of the preceding paper the following sources have been consulted: F. H. Curtiss, *A Genealogy of the Curtiss Family: Being a Record of the Descendants of Widow Elizabeth Curtiss who settled in Stratford, Connecticut, 1639–40* (Boston: 1903), 23–24, 48; Edward Robinson, *Memoir of the Rev. William Robinson, formerly Pastor of the Congregational Church in Southington, Connecticut, with some account of his Ancestors in this Country* (New York: 1859), 81–82, 93–96, 98–102, 104–07, 111, 140–49, 186–89, 205; H. B. Smith and R. D. Hitchcock, *The Life, Writings, and Character of Edward Robinson, D.D., LL.D.* (New York: 1863), *passim;* "Edward Robinson," in Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI (New York: 1935), 39–40; H. R. Timlow, *Ecclesiastical and Other Sketches of Southington, Conn.* (Hartford: 1875), 82–83, 108–32; J. H. Trumbull, ed., *The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut, 1633–1884*, II (Boston: 1886), 371, 379–80; G. L. Prentiss, *The Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York: Historical and Biographical Sketches of Its First Fifty Years* (New York: 1889), 243–51.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Puritan Dilemma, The Story of John Winthrop. By Edmund S. Morgan. [*The Library of American Biography*, edited by Oscar Handlin.] (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1958. xii + 224 pages, note on sources, index. $3.50.)

Reviewed by Bradford Smith, *author of* Bradford of Plymouth, *etc.*

It is one of the functions and surely one of the strengths of history to explore the past for problems and solutions which parallel those of our own times. Professor Morgan's book, while it deals expertly and interestingly with one of the great figures of our colonial history, also has its modern application.

"The central problem of Puritanism as it affected John Winthrop and New England," he points out, "has concerned men of principle in every age, not the least in our own. It was the question of what responsibility a righteous man owes to society. If society follows a course that he considers wrong, should he withdraw and keep his principles intact, or should he stay?" Freedom versus authority—this was the central issue in Winthrop's as in our own, or any day. A special problem for the Massachusetts Puritans was inherent in their principles, which both encouraged schism and denied them the means of preventing it.

The conveying of the charter to New England and the consequent transformation of the commercial trading company into a commonwealth is well known. Professor Morgan points out that in the process most of the adult males in the colony (except servants) became freemen. He shows that limiting freemanship to church members was in effect an invitation to every church member in the colony to become a freeman.

The government of Massachusetts Bay was based on two voluntary covenants—that of the church and that of the civil government. Under Winthrop's hand, government was to be the superior force "for controlling separatism and maintaining a colony united in the execution of God's commands."

Professor Morgan's book, as the title implies, is more an essay on Puritan politics than a biography of Winthrop the man. In such a short book and with such an emphasis there is little space to convey a sense of the surroundings—the commercial activity, the building up of new communities, family life, what it felt like to live in Boston in 1630 or 1640. The presence of Plymouth, which had already dealt with most of the problems Winthrop had to struggle with, is hardly noticed, and is not seriously considered as an influence. Yet Plymouth had long since taken the way of the covenant in religion, in politics, and in business.

Surely Professor Morgan is right in placing religion at the center of his book, for it was central to Winthrop and to Massachusetts. His analysis

of religion and government as they interacted is clear and helpful. But why he, like other scholars before him, assigns to Massachusetts Bay the honor of having devised a form of local government which was already at work in Plymouth ten years before Winthrop reached New England is hard to understand.

Professor Morgan was fortunate to have a subject whose papers have been so well preserved and expertly edited. Since the scheme of this volume (one in the Library of American Biography) does not permit a biography of full length, Professor Morgan has done well to center his interest as he has. If we fail somewhat to know Winthrop in all the circumstantial detail of his life, we are made to know his mind.

Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War. By Douglas Edward Leach. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958. x + 304 pages, biblio., illus., index. $6.00.)

Reviewed by Professor Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *author of* Master Roger Williams.

King Philip's War was a major crisis in 17th-century New England. In proportion to population, it was the most costly war of our history in loss of life, destruction of property and also in money. On both sides it was a war for survival. By 1675 New England Indian tribes had seen their vast kingdoms shrink away, their freedom curbed, and their civilization threatened by multiple restrictions. As they then saw it, only total extermination of the English could restore their power and dignity. To the English colonists, nothing less than total subjugation of the Indians could insure safety of life, preservation of property, and sufficient land areas for further expansion. The horrors of 1675 and 1676 were the sequel, and in Mr. Leach's view, they were the inevitable sequel. After nearly two generations of trial and error, two such mutually incompatible, even antagonistic, ways of life could no longer coexist within New England limits.

Unfortunately, no Indian records survive for the two desperate years of fighting. Mr. Leach's sources are entirely English, and yet one lays this book down feeling that he has written a notably dispassionate account of what happened. To tell so dramatic a story with detachment and impartiality from records of the winning side only is no small achievement; in fact, it is a triumph of fairness. Unlike most previous accounts, which have dealt chiefly with the battle scenes themselves, the barbarous massacres, villages in flames, women and children slaughtered or carried into captivity, Mr. Leach sets this savage conflict in a wide context of causes and conditions—racial, social, diplomatic as well as military, remote as well as immediate. Much water had gone under various bridges since Philip's father, Ousamaquin (Massasoit), had made friendly gestures to the earliest Plymouth settlers. Analysis of the successive battle campaigns, crowded with vivid detail, hews to the main line, accounting in clear-cut,

realistic terms for the initial defeats and then the final victory of the English. An effective war strategy and unity among themselves were achieved the hard way but achieved in time. The Great Swamp Fight was the turning point in English fortunes.

To the modern reader of daily bulletins from the war fronts of an unquiet world, this 17th-century story of a relatively "small" war escapes its time and setting at many points and becomes a parable of all wars before or since. The slow root-growth of mutual resentment and increasing mistrust, the frailty of treaties, the worse than savage extremes which belie human nature of whatever race or color, the irremediable disruption of life for both victor and vanquished: for the discerning reader all are here, written invisibly between the lines of this strictly scholarly record. For the completeness and accuracy of the telling, and also its unspoken implications, this is admirable historical writing.

The War for Independence: A Military History. By Howard H. Peckham. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958. ix + 227 pages, biblio., index. $3.50.)

Reviewed by Richard J. Koke.

To the lengthening array of one- and two-volume histories of the American Revolution is now added Howard H. Peckham's short study as one of the projected twenty-odd-volume "Chicago History of American Civilization," which will treat of various aspects of our culture. Viewed as such, it covers the ground in adequate fashion in well-expressed terms. The author, Director of the W. L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, has made skilful use of his materials in digesting eight years of war into 227 pages. Eight pages of bibliographical notes cite the more important sources consulted in the preparation of this volume.

Knight Errant of Liberty: The Triumph and Tragedy of General Charles Lee. By Samuel White Patterson. (New York: Lantern Press, 1958. 287 pages, biblio., illus., index. $4.00.)

Reviewed by William B. Willcox, *Professor of History, University of Michigan.*

A life of Charles Lee is bound to cover familiar ground. The Englishman who was for a time Washington's principal lieutenant has been written about intermittently ever since 1775, and John Alden recently published an authoritative biography of him. The subject is not closed, if only because history is a process of continual revision; but a new biography may fairly be expected to contribute something of value that is not found in earlier work. The value may lie in the style, if it appeals to a wider public. It may lie in the introduction of new material or the reassessment of old. It may lie in a reinterpretation of character. But in one

of these ways, if the book is to be considered as history, it must add something to what has gone before.

Mr. Patterson's style does not produce a clear narrative. The salient factors in a situation are sometimes lost sight of, chronological order occasionally becomes chaos, and the author's ideas are often confused with Lee's. But the chief trouble is a lack of verbal clarity at critical moments, such as in the chapter on the campaign leading to Monmouth, the battle that shattered Lee's career. One of the crucial questions about the campaign has always been whether Washington did or did not intend in advance to seek a decisive engagement. Here is the way the question is disposed of: "Washington did his own thinking and came up with the idea that the Continentals should destroy the enemy, *though he would not press it to a decision.*" (Italics are added.) How is any reader except a mind-reader to know what the author means?

Cloudy narrative is especially unfortunate because the narrative is Mr. Patterson's main interest. He is rarely concerned with the problems inherent in the story, and makes no effort to analyze the evidence for and against particular solutions. Two of those problems overshadow all others, and account for the controversy that has raged around Lee for a century past. He retreated at Monmouth, for which he was court-martialed and in effect cashiered; he offered advice to the British, while he was their prisoner in New York, on how to win the war. These two episodes in conjunction have cast a suspicion of treason on his name, and each of them is a challenge to the biographer. Mr. Patterson describes Lee's conduct at Monmouth, but in a way that offers no explanation of why it infuriated Washington; Lee suffered from sunstroke, he implies, and his chief from plain bad temper. The advice to the British is handled differently but no more analytically: the author argues that Lee was attempting to sow dissension between Howe and Clinton by luring the former into a campaign to the southward, and knew that the campaign would fail because the American army, people, and Congress had, forsooth, an unconquerable soul; he goes on to argue that Lee's strategem succeeded because Howe did go to the south, Clinton was alienated, and the Pennsylvania campaign did in the end fail. The first half of this argument rests on the assumption that Lee foresaw a rift between the British commanders months before it occurred, and had a confidence in American morale that no one knows he had; the second half rests on the old fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Nowhere is there anything like Mr. Alden's careful sifting of the evidence. Assertion, instead, does duty for analysis.

The interpretation of Lee's personality has equally little substance. The idea in the title is reasserted near the end of the book: "The central tendency in Charles Lee was a lifetime thirst for liberty, personal and public, everywhere, in all fields and in all of man's relations with his fellow-men."

Beautiful if true—but why should it be true? The facts seem to support Mr. Alden's quite different verdict, that the dominant note in Lee's life was his concern "for personal rather than for general freedom." His early career showed this concern, and his repudiating the usual loyalties of an English officer in order to join the American cause may be interpreted in the same light. How well he served that cause is debatable; his best certainly did not amount to genius, and his worst was pitiable. "He was," in Mr. Patterson's trenchant comment, "neither mentally, emotionally, nor spiritually fitted for failure." He failed first when he was captured, and his conduct as a prisoner was, to put it mildly, indiscreet. He failed again and finally after Monmouth, when he attempted to recoup his reputation at the cost of Washington's; and in his remaining four years he disintegrated into neuroticism. He was a promising general, in short, whose promise was not fulfilled. To depict him as the knightly champion of liberty is mere romanticizing.

The South in the Revolution 1763–1789. By JOHN RICHARD ALDEN. [Volume III of *A History of the South*, ed. by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter.] ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press and The Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1957. xv + 442 pages, illus., biblio. note, index. $7.50.)

Reviewed by PETER J. PAULSON, *Head, Gift and Exchange Section, The New York State Library*.

John Richard Alden, writing against the background of an intimate knowledge of the period (he is also the author of the volume on the American Revolution in Harper's *New American Nation Series*), here presents the first comprehensive survey of the South during the Revolution. Synthesizing the results of numerous studies which have been made on the State level, this volume traces the social, political and military events of those stirring years. The prose is lively and readable, an indication that the author does not suffer from the common delusion that tediousness is the hallmark of sound scholarship.

This book ably chronicles the military events of the war in the South. But it is much more than the old-fashioned military history. Beginning with an analysis of the social and economic structure of the colonial South, the author also deals with the politics of the protest against the British imperial program, the conflicts between Tidewater and backcountry, the Old Southwest and Indian relations, and the internal changes resulting from the external Revolution. In the period of the new nation, Alden stresses not only the sectional issues which divided South from North, but also the substantial contribution of the Southern States to the formation of a national government.

One may justly complain that at times the geographic boundaries of

the South seem shadowy indeed, as when the author ventures north of the Ohio in his discussion of the war in the West, or when he devotes an undue proportion of his text to already familiar national events and British policies in the pre-war years. While the maps are singularly unenlightening, the critical bibliography and index are excellent.

Unlike some of the other volumes in this series, notably C. Vann Woodward's *Origins of the New South*, this work offers no challenging new interpretations for scholars to mull upon. What it does give us, however, is a comprehensive and readable history of the South during the years which led to the emergence of a new nation.

The Jeffersonian Republicans. By Noble E. Cunningham, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, 1957. x + 279 pages, biblio. note, appendix, index. $6.00.)

Reviewed by David L. Sterling, *New York State College for Teachers, Albany, N.Y.*

Although Professor Cunningham's study of the origins and growth of the Jeffersonian party has neither the color nor the vitality of Claude G. Bowers' *Jefferson and Hamilton* and Nathan Schachner's *The Founding Fathers*, it is, in comparison to these books, more scholarly and in some measure more stimulating. The Bowers and Schachner volumes are broad impressions centering on the great issues of the Federalist period; Professor Cunningham's monograph is not, and it makes no pretensions to being so. It is a detailed—almost a painfully detailed—record of the gradual development of party machinery on Congressional and State levels. It focuses its attention not on personalities, but on the instruments of political organization.

As a writer Professor Cunningham lacks the verve of Bowers and Schachner, but his book, devoid of drama, is clearly superior as a careful analytical study. Both of the earlier books made Hamilton and Jefferson titans on a political stage; both presented the Federalists and Republicans as full-grown parties, well-organized in structure and monolithic in sentiment; both assumed the presence of a two-party system almost from the time Hamilton sent his financial program into Congress.

Professor Cunningham registers a convincing dissent to these myopic and persistent myths. He shows that in its origins the Republicans were Madison's, not Jefferson's party, and that after the Secretary of State resigned in 1793, his role was almost completely passive in organizing the Republican opposition. He suggests that Jefferson was sincerely reluctant to run for the Presidency in 1796, and that the former Secretary did not assume leadership until after his election to the Vice-Presidency. He traces the evolution of State political organization, impelled first by a Congress excited by the Jay Treaty, and then by the national elections of

1796 and 1800. He reaches his climax in the campaign that led to the defeat of the Federalists.

The 1800 election has long been a source of contention and speculation among historians and biographers. Professor Cunningham has filled in detail, but he has not substantially revised the total picture. It is no revelation to scholars that Federalists and Republicans changed election laws to suit their partisan needs, to assure all of their States' votes for one candidate or the other, and incidentally to make the verdict less reflective of popular will. It is not new to conclude that James A. Bayard ended the House deadlock, and that he and not Hamilton was a key figure in the election of Thomas Jefferson. But these points may well be re-emphasized. They amend both the Hamiltonian legend and our conceptions of Jeffersonian democratic liberalism.

Professor Cunningham makes little claim to originality in the pages he devotes to the election of 1800. He has, however, made a real and valuable contribution to Federalist-Republican historiography. If textbook writers take notice, his labors will be salutary and his contribution will be greater.

The Books of a New Nation. United States Government Publications, 1774–1814. By J. H. Powell, A. S. W. Rosenbach Fellow in Bibliography, 1956. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957. 170 pages, note on sources, illus., index. $4.50.)

Reviewed by James B. Childs, *Chief Document Officer, Library of Congress, and author of bibliographical studies of United States and other government publications.*

Powell, the historian, whose two previously published books deal with problems in the earlier period of our Republic, has become intrigued with the intricate and neglected but important problems of official printing and official publications of that same time, showing the literary career of the United States as author as well as "the development of the federal structure from 1774 through the disaster of 'Mr. Madison's War.' "

Throughout, Powell has been faced with thorny problems that make an interesting story as well as point to the need for further search and bibliographical investigation, continuing the endeavors of Greely, Evans, and others. The problems of determining what publications should be regarded as official publications, he has endeavored to solve by examination of the pertinent records. He examines and places in order the first ten official publications of the Continental Congress in the fall of 1774. With reference to the first official version of the Declaration of Independence, printed in "unlovely" broadside form by Dunlap on July 5, 1776, three and a half weeks before the vellum engrossed copy, Powell comments on the few surviving copies that "it is not impossible that one day another copy will be found and recognized, not impossible even that

one may appear with signatures." In contrast, he points out that "both the engrossed copy and the printed issue" of the Constitution as agreed to "were probably ready Monday morning, September 17, [1787,] when the Convention met for its last day."

Many are the clues of printed documents that have not been located and described. On page 75 is mention that "the 'Register of Accounts' lists numerous items, printed by Dunlap, Dunlap and Claypoole, Francis Childs, or others, or bound up by the Philadelphia binder Robert Hodge, which are not known today." On page 89 is the statement that "both printers [Childs & Swaine and Greenleaf], as their bills prove, published items nowhere listed in bibliographies." On page 91 is the mention that "Evans lists none of the twenty-six bills and reports Fenno emitted; only some of them are catalogued in Greely. Many of them doubtless exist." On pages 93–94 reference is made to various printed stages of legislative bills, which are a part of the "essential history of legislation," but which are often unlisted and even not known to exist. On page 99 is the comment that "of all the government printed during its ten years in Philadelphia, we may well believe much is still to be listed." On page 108 it is asserted that "for the years in Washington 1801–17, there is still much to be discovered." Indeed, Powell has not been able to determine what was the first Government document to be printed in Washington, D. C.

Further collecting and bibliographical investigation in this still relatively little cultivated field, as Powell indicates throughout, could bear much fruit and contribute to the more precise understanding of United States government and history through the War of 1812.

The War of 1812 in the Old Northwest. By Alec R. Gilpin. (East Lansing, Mich.: The Michigan State University Press, 1958. vii + 286 pages, biblio., map, index. $6.50.)

Reviewed by Ray W. Irwin, *Associate Professor of History, New York University.*

In their continuing search for a fuller understanding of the precipitation, conduct, and significance of the War of 1812, historians have during the present century given an increasing amount of attention to the area west of the Appalachian Mountains. The present volume deals almost exclusively with the war in the huge and, in 1812, largely undeveloped region extending from the Great Lakes to the Ohio River, and from the Appalachians to the Mississippi. The period covered in the work's thirteen chapters extends from the eve of the War of 1812 to the formal conclusion of that conflict in 1815. Although the author has concentrated heavily in this volume on land military operations within and on the northern outskirts of the Old Northwest, he has by no means ignored the importance of naval control of the Great Lakes in any attempt made by

Americans to invade Canada from Detroit, or to defend American territory against British counterattack.

It will probably be disappointing to at least some readers of the volume that the author has so severely restricted his treatment of a number of matters pertaining to the role of the Old Northwest in the War of 1812. Little attention, for example, is given in the study to the causes of the war, the author hardly more than indicating (p. 44), in regard to causation, that "Since an analysis of the causes lies outside the scope of a regional study of the war, it need be said only that seemingly all the Ohio Valley region and nearly all the Old Northwest was against England and its Indian allies." Furthermore, despite the very considerable amount of detail with which even the minor military engagements are treated in this work, the portions of the population not actually participating in the active campaigning remain almost entirely out of the reader's sight. It would seem, too, that more space should have been given in the volume to the role of the Old Northwest in the negotiations at Ghent.

The merits of the study, however, are substantial. The volume does provide a well-documented and detailed account of the actual campaigning in the area under study. Much attention is given to the relative strength and problems of the opposing forces, the quality of military leadership, the part played by Indian allies on each side in the conflict, to estimation of the number of casualties sustained, and the importance of the numerous individual operations described. A spirit of fairness and restraint pervades the work, and is especially evident in the evaluation of controversial figures and events. The book is largely based on manuscript materials in Canadian and American repositories; it contains an excellent bibliography; and it is well indexed.

The Long Haul West: The Great Canal Era, 1817–1850. By Madeline Sadler Waggoner. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958. 320 pages, biblio., illus., index. $5.75.)

Reviewed by Blake McKelvey, *Rochester (N. Y.) City Historian.*

This popular account of "The Great Canal Era" is packed with graphic details concerning the building and early operation of the "Old Erie" and of the many canals it inspired, scattered from Maine to Illinois. An endpaper map conveniently locates most of the projects which reached at least partial completion; the author also identifies and discusses several that folded at an earlier stage.

Mrs. Waggoner has captured the lusty spirit of that early boom period of the westward movement. Her pages are full of human-interest stories of the promoters and their "heart-breaking" struggles to secure effective backing, of the builders and the hardships they suffered due to an inadequate knowledge of the land, of technology and sanitation. She also por-

trays the surging march of settlers, or "movers" as she calls them, into the "Old West," and gives due attention to their restless energies, their land speculations and other ventures.

The book has a gusto admirably keyed to its subject. Even wild-eyed schemes did not seem impossible in that day of wonders, and if the author sometimes exaggerates a contrast or a crisis, she can easily quote excited contemporaries who shared her interpretation. And perhaps it is well to be reminded occasionally that the American of the 1830s (or of any other date) also had special obsessions.

The "Long Haul" is a colorful panorama of men and families moving West. The author quickly passes by those of the sober variety who sank their roots in each community and gives full attention to the personalities, great and small, who kept pace with the "Big Push." First among the great was DeWitt Clinton, who emerges as the central hero of the Old Erie. Equally forceful leaders in Ohio, Indiana, and elsewhere refused to be daunted by the hazards that obstructed the building of their canal systems.

The contributions of the canals to the westward movement were tremendous. While they stand out a bit more forcefully here than they would in a volume that gave adequate treatment to the turnpikes and the commerce on the natural waterways, the canal story is worthy of the re-emphasis Mrs. Waggoner has given it. Perhaps only in one respect has she failed to measure the full import of the canals, several of which continued, as freight carriers, to haul a major share of the produce of the Old West eastward long after the railroads she introduces in the last two chapters had displaced them as passenger carriers and as promotional arteries in opening new territories.

Although New York State's lateral canals are but slightly treated, the Old Erie's first decades receive major attention. Mrs. Waggoner not only adds much fresh detail to the State's history but also underlines the importance and conveys much of the spirit and feeling of this dramatic era of national growth.

Magnificent Missourian: The Life of Thomas Hart Benton. By Elbert B. Smith. (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1958. 351 pages, notes, index. $6.00.)

Reviewed by Ray W. Irwin, *Associate Professor of History, New York University.*

A large number of readers should welcome publication of this biography of Thomas Hart Benton, powerful political figure whose "story," in Professor Smith's words, "is in many ways the story of America in the days leading to its greatest sorrow." The period intensively covered in this volume is approximately that of Benton's lifetime, 1782–1858; the

geographical area, roughly that of continental United States—with occasional brief excursions into other lands. The central figure, of course, is Benton himself, whose blazing public and private career is skillfully traced in a volume which, although of modest proportions, effectively relates its protagonist to the outstanding issues and political leaders throughout a momentous half-century of American growth.

Perhaps growth—with all that the word connotes—is the most interesting aspect of Benton's character and activities, and of a "fearfully growing" United States during those early, eventful years. When Benton was born in North Carolina, the United States was still only emerging from the War for Independence. When, as a student, Benton was expelled from the University of North Carolina, in 1799, and started to Tennessee, shouting to his detractors, "I am leaving here now, but damn you, you will hear from me again," the western boundary of the United States was the Mississippi River. When Benton moved to Missouri Territory in 1815 to practise law, the Louisiana Purchase had long been completed, and American fur-traders were occupying Oregon. In 1819, the year before Benton was elected United States Senator, the United States acquired Florida from Spain. By 1854, after the Missourian had served with distinction for many years in the Senate, the territorial limits of the United States had been further extended by huge acquisitions from Mexico. The final years of Benton's life continued to be years of national growth, but they were beclouded for Benton and the nation alike by ominous and depressing events foreshadowing the coming of the Civil War.

Despite his inauspicious experience at the University of North Carolina, and his unfortunate quarrel with Andrew Jackson in Tennessee, Benton quickly became politically successful in Missouri. In time, and for decades, he was Missouri's leading citizen, his aggressive personality, physical courage, great talents and energy, and his devotion to Western interests appealing powerfully to his constituents. Meanwhile, too, he gained recognition as one of the best-informed and most distinguished members of the United States Senate. In that body, over the years, his colleagues included John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Stephen A. Douglas, Daniel Webster, and other senatorial titans. With them, and often opposing them, Benton wrestled with a host of great national problems: the tariff and nullification, the Bank of the United States, internal improvements, public lands, Texas, the War with Mexico and territorial expansion during Polk's administration, slavery in the territories, governmental organization of new territories, and plans for construction of transcontinental railroads. Originally a pugnacious, brawling frontier lawyer and politician, Benton learned to curb his savage temper, to widen his horizons, and to become one of the nation's most effective champions of national principles and policies. This nationalistic course which he

long pursued—despite the fact that he had a largely Southern background, and was himself a slaveholder—would eventually contribute to his political defeat in Missouri and to his active campaigning against his son-in-law, John C. Frémont, Republican Party presidential nominee in 1856. Despite illness and other adverse circumstances, Benton during his closing years prepared his monumental *Thirty Years' View* (1854–1856) and *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1856* (1857–1861).

All these developments, and many more relating to Benton's public and family life, are presented in this extremely readable, if at points somewhat thinly documented, biography. Written with insight and understanding, but without being unduly sympathetic to Benton, the volume presents "Old Bullion" as a man to whom in at least some respects the term "magnificent" may justifiably be applied.

William Page, the American Titian. By Joshua C. Taylor. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957. xxiii + 293 pages, biblio., frontis., 57 halftone illus., "Catalogue of Works," index. $8.50.)

Reviewed by Theodore Bolton, *Librarian, The Century Club, New York City.*

William Page, born at Albany in 1811, began his working life in New York City where he prepared for a career as a lawyer. However, he soon turned to painting; and by the time he was thirty, he was hailed as "The American Titian." Thereafter until his death in 1885 he received the most extravagant praise from prominent writers and artists in the literary and artistic circles of New York, Boston, Florence, and Rome. Thus, James Russell Lowell, in 1844, wrote as an introduction for his poems a fulsome dedication to the artist. A few years later, in 1847, the sculptor Story declared that "I have met very few, if any persons, who affect me so truly as men of genius, as Page." In 1854, Robert Browning, commenting on the portrait of him by Page, wrote to Story that "no such work has been achieved in our time." During the same year, Mrs. Browning, in writing to her friend, Mary Russell Mitford, declared that: "I never saw such portraits" as those of Page "from a living hand." In another letter to her friend, Mrs. Browning declared that Page's portrait of Charlotte Cushman was "a miracle." No less extravagant was the artist's own estimate of his work: in a statement written a month or so before his death he declared of one of his portraits that it was "the best portrait that has ever been painted" since the deity "created the world." His prestige was, apparently, tremendous; and one is not surprised when one learns that in 1871 he was elected President of the National Academy.

But one is surprised when, after turning from the biography to the illustrations, one sees what the acclaim was all about. Until I saw the reproductions in the present work, I was familiar with only three examples

of the artist's work: two in Detroit and one at the Pennsylvania Academy. Judging from the reproductions, the rest of his work detracts from rather than adds to the artist's reputation. In general the drawing is weak; the composition, derivative; and the technique, based on glazing, so ineptly managed that many of the pictures have faded.

Aside from the excellence of his book as a careful tabulation of the artist's work which makes it an indispensable volume for the art librarian, the author has managed to reveal, as he sets forth the artist's chronology, an unusually life-like characterization of an artist belonging to a well-known type: the man who promises a great deal more than he performs. The biography is an engrossing narrative of an artist with slight talent, whose legend of himself as an American "old master" was accepted by his contemporaries. One reads the biography as one reads the novel by Henry James of Roderick Hudson, a vastly different character, but one of the same type as William Page.

Theodore Roosevelt, Volume One: The Formative Years, 1858–1886. A Biography by Carleton Putnam. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958. xiii + 626 pages, biblio., illus., index. $10.00.)

Reviewed by R. W. G. Vail. [*Dr. Vail was Assistant Director and Librarian of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, 1921–1928.*]

Biographers who are intimate friends of their subjects, their families and associates have a certain advantage since they can gather their materials first-hand but they have two serious disadvantages for, being so close to their subjects, they are apt to be swayed by uncritical emotions and personal bias and they are handicapped because much of the evidence available to later scholars has not yet come to light. This is particularly true in studying the dynamic personality of Theodore Roosevelt who had such an emotional hold on the imagination of his time. He had a host of loyal friends as well as many bitter personal enemies whose opinions were bound to color the sometimes too friendly or obviously antagonistic judgments of his early biographers. And, in spite of the mass of documentary material before them, some of the most important and revealing sources were not yet available when they wrote of his earlier and more formative years. The biographer who comes a generation later has the advantage of having at hand not only the materials gathered by his predecessors but also the new evidence unknown to them which, in many cases, corrects their mistakes of fact or judgment. He also has the great advantage of not being so seriously hampered by the emotional and uncritical opinions of the still-living principal witnesses on whose partial evidence the earlier biographies were necessarily based and whose feelings had to be considered by the contemporary biographers.

It is fortunate that the centennial of Theodore Roosevelt's birth should be celebrated by the publication of the first of four volumes of a full-

scale, critical life of our fourth great President whose face looks down from Mount Rushmore at the side of those of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. Here for the first time we have a complete, analytical biography which tells, almost day by day, not only what Roosevelt did during his first twenty-eight years but also why he thought and acted as he did, and that is why this is a great biography.

The author is particularly fortunate in having secured access to hitherto unused sources which were of great aid not only in recording significant new details of Roosevelt's early life but in helping him to interpret the underlying motives and philosophy of his strenuous and colorful career. Of greatest importance for these earlier years are the Theodore Roosevelt diaries covering this entire period now made available for the first time by his daughter, Mrs. Nicholas Longworth. They are liberally quoted to show his actions, thoughts, emotions and the sources of his developing philosophy. The unpublished papers of Henry Cabot Lodge I, Roosevelt's most intimate early political friend, have been effectively used as well as the transcripts of interviews with his other important political associates of the period, the letters and reminiscences of his sisters, Mrs. Cowles and Mrs. Robinson, and the diaries of his brother Elliott, all piously collected by the Theodore Roosevelt Association.

For the ranching period, the unpublished autobiography and letters of his Maine woodsman and Dakota ranchman, William W. Sewall, add much of both fact and interpretation as does the unpublished life of the Marquis de Mores, his fiery Dakota neighbor, by Charles Droulers, and the author's tape-recorded interviews with the surviving associates of the ranching days. In addition to the wealth of obvious printed material the author has used the privately published memorial written by Roosevelt on the death of his first wife and has combed the contemporary newspapers and the official records of New York and North Dakota for accounts of T.R.'s political, legislative, and ranching activities.

From this new and old material the author has written thoughtfully and eloquently of the career of the sickly little rich boy who, inspired by the vigorous and useful life of his father, determined to build a strong physique so that he too could become a useful citizen. He tells for the first time the details of his early life, his student days, his happy though brief life with his first wife and of the tragic day when both she and his mother died in their New York home. He gives us many new facts and interpretations of Roosevelt's career as politician, ranchman and author, his personal tragedies and political disappointments as well as his triumphs. In his final chapter: "Roosevelt at Twenty-eight," the author gives a thoughtful analysis of T.R.'s limitations, of his assets, and of the training which was to be of such great use in the career which seemed so vague and uncertain as the young man returned from his unsuccessful experience as a ranchman, with no hopes or plans for a further political

career but with the expectation of marrying Edith Carow and settling down at his new home at Oyster Bay.

Theodore Roosevelt was never dull and neither is this spirited though detailed story of his early years. It is written with enthusiasm, without prejudice, and often with eloquence,* and from it one learns for the first time *what made the man tick*. And that makes it a great biography. If the author can do as well with the other three volumes, he will have written the best biography of one of the most human, engaging, and useful of Americans.

The Cabinet Diary of William L. Wilson, 1896–1897. Edited by Festus P. Summers. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1957. xxvii + 276 pages, frontis., "glossary of persons," index. $5.00.)

Reviewed by Capt. Kenneth R. Walker, *Department of History, U. S. Air Force Academy, Denver.*

Confederate Army veteran, professor of ancient languages, lawyer, college president, and Congressman, William L. Wilson served as Postmaster General during the last two years of President Grover Cleveland's second administration. A traditional Democrat, his gold standard and low tariff views were reflected in two measures bearing his name, the Wilson Repeal Bill of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act (1893) and the Wilson-Gorman Tariff (1894). This "scholar in politics," whose political concepts were so similar to Cleveland's, was asked frequently by the President to advise him on important questions, both foreign and domestic. The close relationship between these two men was further demonstrated by the fact that Cleveland took the lead in raising $100,000 to endow a chair of political economy at Washington and Lee University in honor of the memory of Wilson.

Probably the greatest significance of Wilson's Diary is its uniqueness in being the only daily record of this period written by a member of Cleveland's cabinet. An indication of the historical importance of this diary is shown by the dozen or more footnote references to Wilson's Cabinet Diary in Allan Nevins's Pulitzer Prize-winning biography, *Grover Cleveland, A Study in Courage*.

Covering the last fourteen months of Cleveland's administration, the *Cabinet Diary of William L. Wilson* gives an added insight into a stormy period of American history. Topics upon which Wilson comments include the Venezuelan boundary dispute, the threat of war with Great Britain, the Bering Sea controversy, the Cuban revolt, Cleveland's struggle with the jingoes, the battle of the standards (silver and gold), the rise of Populism and Bryanism, and the stirring campaign of 1896. How-

* For example, the account of Roosevelt's commencement day at Harvard, 196–97; and of his New York in 1881, 227–28; and, of course, the thoughtful last chapter.

ever, as Newton D. Baker, private secretary to Postmaster General Wilson, notes in the introduction to the *Diary*, Wilson did not write the journal with history in mind, and consequently it is not as enlightening on the Cleveland administration as the diary of Gideon Welles (Secretary of the Navy in Andrew Johnson's cabinet) is on the Johnson period. On the other hand, since Wilson was not writing for publication, his diary contains intimate sidelights on such personalities as Ben Tillman, Thomas Reed, Hoke Smith, Judson Harmon, John Sherman, Adlai E. Stevenson, William McKinley, John G. Carlisle, Hilary A. Herbert, and Richard Olney. Moreover, one of the most interesting aspects of the diary is its account of the personal political problems and social life of a cabinet officer.

The editor of *Wilson's Diary*, who is head of the History Department at West Virginia University, has done an excellent job of editing. The explanatory notes at the bottom of the pages and the glossary of persons are very helpful in identifying the people, organizations, and events that Wilson mentions and describes. The index greatly enhances the value of the book as a research document.

In summary, the book affords an illuminating insight into the late 19th century political life of the United States as viewed by a genuine Cleveland Democrat, and will be very helpful to persons doing research in that era.

The Concise Encyclopedia of American Antiques. Edited by HELEN COMSTOCK. (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., [1958]. 543 pages + 352 full-page halftone plates + line-cut figs., index. 2 vols., boxed, $25.00.)

Reviewed by CHARLES E. BAKER.

This invaluable and tastefully printed encyclopedia is not a reprint of its three annual predecessors of the same title but comprises 62 up-to-date articles on as many categories of American antiques, each by a recognized authority in his field. Thus, the article on "The Craftsmanship of the American Shakers" is by Edward D. Andrews, co-author of *Shaker Furniture;* that on "Silver 1640–1820," by Kathryn C. Buhler of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; "China-Trade Porcelain for the American Market," by Alice Winchester, Editor of *Antiques;* "Figured Bottles and Flasks," by Helen McKearin; "Swords" and "Firearms," by Harold L. Peterson; "Painting in the Nineteenth Century," by John I. H. Baur, Curator, Whitney Museum of Art; "Folk Painting," by Nina Fletcher Little; "Lithographs," by Frank Weitenkampf; "The Old West," by Harold McCracken; "Folk Sculpture," by Erwin O. Christensen, of the National Gallery of Art; and "Pennsylvania-German Folk Art," by Frances Lichten, author of *Folk Art of Rural Pennsylvania.*

The list of articles and their knowledgeable authors is too long to cite in full, but we must mention two contributions by members of The New-York Historical Society's staff: "Glass," by Carolyn Scoon, Assistant Curator of our Museum; and "Early Trade Cards," by Bella C. Landauer, Founder and Honorary Curator of our Collection of American Business, Industrial, Professional, and Advertising History. Both of these articles are well illustrated by reproductions of pieces owned by the Society.

Most of the articles are divided into sections by period and/or style and present alphabetical glossaries of their respective subjects. The Index of Names and Places, being also an index of subjects, enables the reader to find quickly the discussion of his favorite silversmith or other craftsman, or the subject of his particular interest, whether Frakturschriften, Old Blue China, Revolvers, or Stoneware. The illustrations are ample and excellent.

No single reference work on so vast and complex a subject as American antiques can escape all error or answer every question. This *Encyclopedia*, which ought to stand on the bookshelf of every curator and collector, certainly makes no claim to doing so. But where the individual articles unavoidably fall short, the selective list of readings appended to each will help to fill the gaps. The article on "Miniature Painting" by Josephine L. Allen, formerly of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, even cites Ruel P. Tolman's *The Life and Works of Edward Greene Malbone, 1777–1807*, which was published by this Society after the *Encyclopedia* appeared.

American Knives: The First History and Collectors' Guide. By Harold L. Peterson. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958. 178 pages, appendix, illus., index. $4.95.)

Reviewed by Richard J. Koke.

Within the past several years Harold L. Peterson has attained a distinctive position as a leading authority in the field of American arms and armor, to which he has contributed four books and various articles to the learned publications. His prominence is such that each new treatise is eagerly welcomed by the military student, and his latest volume on American knives enhances the enviable reputation he has gained and is representative of the scholarly literature one can expect of him. Unlike the well-investigated field of firearms, research on edged weapons, in comparison, has been slow in developing, and Mr. Peterson's work fills an acute need, as did his former volume on American swords.

Keeping abreast of a widening popular hobby devoted to knife collecting, this is the first book to be published on American knives. The author intends it as a basic primer to cover the broad framework of the subject and lay the groundwork for more-detailed studies as continuing

interest warrants their publication, but it far transcends his modest description, for it is a valuable mine of information to which both the experienced and inexperienced collector can turn. The listing of the table of contents alone will suffice to give an idea of its valued contents: knife names, knives of the explorers and colonists, the Bowie and its associates, Army knives, naval dirks and other knives, the Indian and his knife, pocket knives, and the manufacture and sharpening of knives. The book is profusely illustrated and, in addition to the excellence of its over-all format, it contains a handy checklist of American knife-makers, marks, and dealers which will be appreciated by all whose work or interest brings them into this field of research.

The Farmers Bank: An Historical Account of the President, Directors and Company of the Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware, 1807–1957. By Dudley C. Lunt. ([Dover, Del.: Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware, 1957.] 308 pages, illus., appendices, sources, index. $10.00.)

Here is a workman-like history of the only State bank which, having been patterned after Hamilton's Bank of the United States, still operates under the main features of its original charter. The study is based upon the bank's well-kept archives of records and correspondence, upon manuscript collections of the Delaware newspapers, official documents in the State Archives, and upon the full range of pertinent published sources, primary and secondary. There are no footnotes, but many of the sources are cited in the text. The author is a lawyer and local historian who makes his story of this old and honorable financial institution readable, factually informative, and interpretively significant even to the layman.

C.E.B.

The First One Hundred and Fifty Years: A History of John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 1807–1957. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957. xxv + 242 pages, illus., index. $7.50.)

This firm of publishers, whose author-lists include such well-known New Yorkers as Gulian C. Verplanck, James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and William Cullen Bryant, sabotaged this history beforehand by periodically jettisoning its records and correspondence. What might have been an intimate and lively story of New York book publishing became instead a skeletal history with a series of thirty essays on the various categories of books published. The twenty-eight contributors have done well with the materials available and the craftsmen have made a handsome volume, but the historian, if not the bibliographer, will be but partially satisfied.

C.E.B.

The Writing of American Jewish History. . . . Edited by Moshe Davis and Isidore S. Meyer. (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1957. 332 pages, index. $6.00.)

This volume contains the two dozen papers, with the discussions thereon, which were presented at the conference of American Jewish historians during the tercentenary celebration of the first Jewish settlement in this country. The purpose of the conference was to establish "certain methods, norms, and criteria" for better directing future studies in American Jewish history. Four areas of research are covered by this work: "Local and Regional History" (opening with a paper by Dr. Sylvester K. Stevens, former President of the American Association for State and Local History), "Economic History" (opening with a discussion of "Business History in the Social Sciences" by Dr. Thomas C. Cochran, Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania), "Immigration" (of which the central paper on "Immigration and Basic Religious Ideals" was presented by The Right Reverend Monsignor John O'Grady, Secretary of the National Conference of Catholic Charities), and "Biography" (the final address being "The Essence of Biography: Character Study" by Dr. Allan Nevins, Professor of History at Columbia University). Existing histories are evaluated and criticized, but for the most part these papers and the discussions emanating from them are intended to illuminate and define the problems with which American Jewish historians must deal and, above all, to uncover the available sources and most fruitful methodologies. The papers are scholarly, and sometimes provocative, and together they comprise a notable treatise on American Jewish historiography, from which historians of any ethnic group and indeed American historians in general might profit.

C.E.B.

New England Miniatures 1750 to 1850. [By Barbara Neville Parker.] (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1957. 18 + [78] + xxiv + [3] pages; 62 illus., 13 in color. $1.50.)

This beautifully produced booklet is primarily a catalogue of 211 miniatures, mainly assembled from private collections, for the first comprehensive exhibition of New England miniaturists and of New Englanders in miniature. The exhibition has ended, but this record of it will remain perennially useful. Besides the alphabetical catalogue of subjects, each briefly identified and showing when and by whom painted and by whom lent for the show, the booklet contains a similar list of 356 privately owned miniatures not exhibited, a bibliography, and a list of public collections containing New England miniatures. An eleven-page essay on "The Art of Miniature Painting in New England" by Mrs. Parker provides a penetrating introduction to the subject. And the excellent illustra-

tions of works by Copley (the earliest New England miniaturist known), Pelham, Malbone, Dunkerly, C. W. Peale, Trumbull, Savage, Verstille, Robert Fulton, Dickinson, Negus, Ingham, and Sarah Goodrich, comprise an illuminating visual review of styles and techniques. Any collector or student of American miniatures will find this gem of a catalogue rewarding out of all proportion to its size and passing occasion.

C.E.B.

The Vikings on Cape Cod: Evidence from archaeological discovery. By Frederick J. Pohl. (Pictou, Nova Scotia: Pictou Advocate Press, 1957. 63 pages, maps, diagram. Paper, $1.25 [copies obtainable from the author, 141 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn 1, N.Y.].)

In this little pamphlet the author of the controversial *The Lost Discovery* tells why he believes Cape Cod to be the site of Leif Erickson's Vinland, how he determined upon Follins Pond as the probable location of Leif's house, and how his theory was corroborated to his own satisfaction by his discovery of mooring holes and by the archaeological uncovering of the shoring posts and props for a ship of Viking dimensions and tonnage in a gully just off the pond. He also mentions the caveats of the skeptics. Being an enthusiast, he makes his account fascinating and plausible—one which anyone who was ever intrigued by the Vinland problem will delight to read.

C.E.B.

Year Book of the (Collegiate) Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York, Vol. XV, Nos. 1–4 (1955–1958). Edited by Rev. Dr. Edgar Franklin Romig, Senior Minister and Historiographer. ([New York: The Church,] 1955–1958. 732 pages, illus.)

Reviewed by Charles E. Baker.

Students of New York history have been missing some fascinating sidelights on our city's past if they supposed, as this reviewer did, that the publication under review contained only parochial news and statistics. True, the first (1880) *Year Book* of the Collegiate Church purposed to inform each of its branches of "the amount and character of the Christian work carried on by the others"—and its successors have continued that purpose. But in the appendices to these *Year Books*, and especially so since Dr. Romig became the Editor in 1944, may be found historical essays of considerable general interest.

That these essays take their occasion from events in the 330 continuous years of the Church's organizational history enhances rather than limits this interest. In his Preface to the 1954 *Year Book*, Dr. Romig gives us an insight into why this is so: ". . . from our vantage point," he says, as the

earliest-organized church of unbroken continuity on American soil and as the oldest institution in New York (even antedating a municipal government), "we can view the successive churches, synogogues and other institutions with understanding and satisfaction, and at the same time receive a more comprehensive discernment of the great forces that have been at work in the shaping of our community life and culture." For instance, "the Collegiate Church, the parent institution in this metropolis, has linked its interests and sympathies *[in ways described in the appended historical essays]* with such diverse foundations as the old Church of Flatbush [1654], and the Congregation of the Sephardic Jews [1654]; and also Columbia University [1754] and the New York Historical Society [1804]. In the fabric that is New York, with its multifarious strands of humanity, of culture and of spirit, we have had the privilege of three centuries of healthy inter-relatedness."

Again, in his Preface to the 1956 *Year Book*, Dr. Romig expresses this sense of historic inter-relatedness in an illustration of his thesis "that dates are more than convenient" markers for "important separate happenings" but "are almost invariably points of convergence"—that "what happened in Spain, what happened in Sweden and Germany, and what happened in France, in 1628, are all of a cosmic fabric" in which that strand which was "the founding of the Dutch Church on Manhattan," also in 1628, has substance "because in it were vitally fused two such dignities as the use of the secret ballot and the representative administration of the people, as distinguished from a hierarchy, in the process of government." What Dr. Romig presents here about "the first trace in modern times of the written secret ballot for the election of civil magistrates" in 16th-century Emden, about its derivation as civil procedure from the electoral practices instituted as early as 1553 in the Reformed Church, and about its prompt adoption by the Calvinist churches throughout Holland and, in 1628, by the church then being organized on Manhattan—all this is new and exciting history to your reviewer, and perhaps to you. "No one now in the Consistory of the Collegiate Church has knowledge of the age of the quaintly constructed black ballot box used for assembling the votes of the members at stated elections; but there is no question," says Dr. Romig, "that it or its predecessors symbolized from the beginning of the founding of religion in New York the people's adherence to the sovereign privilege of casting their votes in the utter and assured freedom of the secret ballot."

Besides historical sketches and anecdotes of the several churches of the Collegium, the appendices to this volume present many illuminating essays on related topics. Among these the following by Dr. Romig are typical:

"Portraits of William III and Mary II, His Wife, Sovereigns of England, Procured for the Church" (1955, pp. 159–162), in which we learn how

the paintings were found by the author in Amsterdam, authenticated, and obtained, and of the historical significance of the Dutch Reformed Church Charter granted in their royal names by Governor Fletcher of New York on May 11, 1696;

"Psalmody and Hymnology" (1955, pp. 167–169), which tells the story of the first English Psalm Book used in the New York Dutch Church, versified in 1764–1767 by Francis Hopkins, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and published in 1767 (this Society owns a copy);

"John Robinson [1575–1625], Contemporary of Our First Minister, Jonas Michaëlius" (1956, pp. 331–339), an excellent historical-biographical study of why and how this "patron saint of Congregationalism"—the Pilgrim Pastor who was "of all men the most prevented by 'the powers that be' from joining the Pilgrim Colony"—still has "vital and prophetic" meaningfulness for Reformed Church members and Presbyterians as well as for Congregationalists;

"The French Language in the Collegiate Church" (1956, pp. 345–348), wherein we learn to our surprise "that French rather than Dutch is the language longest associated with the history of the Reformed Church" in America, for Domine Michaëlius, in his letter of August 11, 1628, reported that he administered the Lord's Supper for the first time in New York and every four months thereafter to the Walloons and French, who made a large part of the communicants, "in the French language, and according to the French mode, with a sermon [in French] preceding, which I have before me in writing, so long as I cannot trust myself extemporaneously";

"Evardus Bogardus [1607–1647]" (1957, pp. 524–532), a biographical sketch of the second minister of the Dutch Church in America, 1633–1647, who was lost with Director-General William Kieft on their return voyage to Holland to answer charges they had brought against each other, when their ship, the *Princess*, was wrecked off the coast of Wales, together with an account of Augustyn Heermans' newly discovered painting showing their embarkation from New Amsterdam in 1647—the earliest local historical event to be depicted by a contemporary artist; and

"Two Portraits" (1957, pp. 532–539), by Rembrandt, 1643, of the Reverend Johannes Elison and his wife, which discusses the historically possible tie-in of this typical Dutch domine with "the Pilgrim Pastor" John Robinson and with New Amsterdam's first minister, Jonas Michaëlius.

Dr. Romig's historical interests did not begin with his editing of the *Year Book* but developed over many years and through diverse influences. Some of these were: his archaeological researches in 1913–16 while a college instructor in Syria at what is now the American Uni-

versity of Beirut, Lebanon; his eye-witnessing of such history-making events as the Czar's address from the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg in 1914 proclaiming war against Austria-Hungary and, in 1916, the funeral of Emperor Franz Josef in Vienna; his participation in the Tercentenary Celebration in Leyden, Holland, of the Pilgrims' departure for America; his occupancy of historic pulpits in The Hague and Great Britain; his collecting of rare old Bibles; his publication of historical works on *John Robinson, Pilgrim Pastor* (1927), *Jonas Michaëlius, Manhattan's First Pastor* (1928), *The Tercentenary Year . . . of the founding of the first church in New Netherland . . .* (1929), *William the Silent, Prince of Orange* (1934), and *The Huguenot Tradition* (1937); and, not least, his long association with The New-York Historical Society, of which he is presently a trustee.

The sources for the historical sections of these *Year Books* are contained, in part, among the collections of the Collegiate Church Library. This important library, like our own, is, as we learn from an appendix relating to its recent acquisitions and services (1957, pp. 511–515), a growing repository of source books, manuscripts, and views and a helpful research center for historical studies within its range of subject matter. A typical example of its services to scholarship was the supplying of a microfilm of its unique copy of the first edition in Dutch of *The Heidelberg Catechism* (1563) to a German church historian who reported that the only other copy of this "very important book," in the British Museum, lacked the title page. "Certainly," says Dr. Romig (1958, p. 712), "as we carry on our ministries we shall wish to preserve anything, without or within our places of worship, that links us with the best traditions of New York."

We hope that the Senior Minister and Historiographer of the Collegiate Church will tap these growing resources for future numbers of the *Year Book* and fill its appendices with many more such interesting and valuable historical essays as those which appear in the current volume. We hope, too, that more and more readers outside the Church will discover these writings and make good use of them.

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

Volume XLII, January–October 1958

INDEX

Alden, John Richard, *The South in the Revolution . . .*, reviewed, 413–414.
Alms House (illus.), 169 (old), 296 (new).
American Art Union, article about, 60–69.
American Jewish historiography, book on, reviewed, 427.
American Museum, article about founder of, 143–169; homes of (illus.), 147, 151, 169; 1793 broadside advertising (repro.), 142; watercolor of (repro.), 296.
"American Press Reports of the French Revolution, 1789–1794," by Beatrice F. Hyslop, 329–348.
American Revolution, articles on, 21–38, 39–46, 221–259; books about, reviewed, 93, 94–96, 96, 411, 413–414.
Ames, Ezra, portraits by (repro.), 182, 220.
Anderson, J., drawing by (repro.), 284.
Andrews, Avery Delano, "Theodore Roosevelt as Police Commissioner," 117–141.
Anne of Austria, portrait of (repro.), 179.
Art, articles on, 60–69, 171–204, 285–299, 317–327; books about, reviewed, 106–107, 108, 207–208, 420–421, 424–425, 427–428.
Artists, engravers, etc. (reproductions): Ezra Ames, 182, 220; J. Anderson, 284; George Augustus Baker, Jr. (attrib.), 174; George Caleb Bingham, 61, 63, 64, 67; Joseph Blackburn, 189; John Beale Bordley, 365; Francesco Giuseppe Casanova, 80; C. E. Crehen, 371; Henry Dawkins, 227; P. L. DeBucourt, 4; Anson Dickinson, 187; Dodd, 27; G. Donck, 194; T. Doney, 64; Asher Brown Durand, 201; J. Durkin, 300; Pierre E. du Simitière, 233; Gerret Duyckinck, 195; Giuseppe Fagnani, 197; L. Fosdick, 308; George F. Fuller, 380; C. Graham, 300; V. Gribayedeff, 116; Jay Hambridge, 138; Hughson Hawley, 305; James Herring, 395; Thomas Hicks, 177; John Joseph Holland, 147; Isaac Hutton (?), 247; John Wesley Jarvis, copy after, 395; Francis Jukes, 353; James Edward Kelly, 308; Edward LaPlante, 377; James Crommelin Lawrence, 287, 290, 291, 298, 299; George Lehman, 359; Thomas McIlworth, 198, copy after, 318, 326; R. de Marandal, 196; L. Marquier, 377; Robert Mills, 371; John Robert Murray, 363; Thomas Nast, 307; C. Ourden, 53; Charles Willson Peale, 351; Matthew Pratt, 316, 326, 327; John Ramage, 349; A. H. Ritchie, 27; Alexander Robertson, 353; Archibald Robertson, 153; H. R. Robinson, 49; W. A. Rogers, 300; William Rollinson, 287; John Scoles, 284; J. R. Smith, 359; Richard Morell Staigg, 199; Arthur J. Stansbury, 296; Gilbert Stuart, 203; Susan Rivington Stuyvesant, 181; John Trumbull, 20, 185; I. [J.?] C. W., 195; A. R. Waud, 306; C. D. Welden, 302; Alyn Williams, 196; John Wollaston, 318, 326; F. W. Wright, 283.
Baker, Charles E., reviews and notices by, 110, 424–425, 426–431.
Baker, Gardiner, article about, 143–169.
Baker, George Augustus, Jr., portraits attrib. to (repro.), 174.
Balloon ascension, frontis. and title page of 1796 pamphlet on (illus.), 161.
Banyar, Goldsbrow, Sr., portraits of (repro.), 182, 185, 186.
Banyar, Mrs. Goldsbrow, Sr., portrait of (repro.), 189.
Barck, O. T., Jr., review by, 88–89.
Battery, N.Y.C. (illus.), 153.
Baurmeister, Maj. Carl Leopold, translation of journals of, reviewed, 93.

Bayard, Rev. Lazare, portrait of (repro.), 193.
Bayard, Mrs. Lazare, portrait of (repro.), 193.
Bayard, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel, on their homestead at Alphen, Holland (repro.), 194.
Bayard Homestead at Alphen, Holland (repro.), 194.
Bell, Whitfield J., Jr., review by, 97–98.
Bellomont, Earl of, portrait of (repro.), 265.
Bennett, James G., engraving of (repro.), 53.
Benson, Judge Egbert, portrait of (repro.), 220.
Benton, Thomas Hart, biography of, reviewed, 418–420.
Billias, George A., "Pelham Bay: A Forgotten Battle," 21–38.
Bingham, George Caleb, article about, 60–69; paintings by (repro.), 61, 63, 64, 67.
Blackburn, Joseph, portrait by (repro.), 189.
Blanchard, Jean Pierre Baptiste, balloon ascent of, 159–163.
Blizzard of 1888, trains snowed in during (illus.), 308.
Bloomer, Amelia, women's rights magazine published by, 71–74.
Bolton, Theodore, review by, 420–421.
Book Reviews and Notices:
The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue, 106–107.
Albert Gallatin: Jeffersonian Financier and Diplomat, 206–207.
Alexander Hamilton: Youth to Maturity, 1755–1788, 91–93.
The American Chair 1630–1890, 312.
The American Heritage Book of Great Historic Places, 211–212.
American Industry and the European Immigrant, 1865–1885, 103–104.
American Knives: The First History and Collectors' Guide, 425–426.
The Beekman Mercantile Papers 1746–1799, 89–91.
The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce 1647–1877, 89–91.
The Books of a New Nation: United States Government Publications, 1774–1814, 415–416.
The Cabinet Diary of William L. Wilson, 1896–1897, 423–424.
Catholic Life Annual 1958, 108–109.
Charles Herbert Moore, Landscape Painter, 207–208.
The Concise Encyclopedia of American Antiques, 424–425.
The Farmers Bank . . . 1807–1957, 426.
The First One Hundred and Fifty Years: A History of John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated, 426.
Flintlock and Tomahawk: New England in King Philip's War, 410–411.
George Whitefield, Wayfaring Witness, 309–312.
The Gingerbread Age: A View of Victorian America, 108.
Good Old Coney Island, 213–214.
Index to the Writings on American History 1902–1940, 110.
Inside Confederate Government: The Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean, 101–103.
Interpreting Our Heritage: . . . Visitor Services in Parks, Museums, and Historic Places, 109–110.
The Jeffersonian Republicans, 414–415.
Joseph Reed: A Moderate in the American Revolution, 94–96.
July 1863, 209–210.
Knight Errant of Liberty: The Triumph and Tragedy of General Charles Lee, 411–413.
The Legend of the Founding Fathers, 97–98.
The Long Haul West: The Great Canal Era, 1817–1850, 417–418.
Magnificent Missourian: The Life of Thomas Hart Benton, 418–420.
Master Roger Williams: A Biography, 205–206.
Mr. Lincoln's Navy, 208–209.
New England Miniatures 1750 to 1850, 427–428.
New York City Guide and Almanac 1957–1958, 213.
Old Dutchess Forever! The Story of an American County, 107–108.
The Parish of St. Michael 1857–1957, 108–109.
The Poet of Christmas Eve, A Life of Clement Clarke Moore, 1779–1863, 100–101.
The Puritan Dilemma, The Story of John Winthrop, 409–410.
Rebels and Redcoats, 96.
Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals, 1776–1784, of

Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces, 93.
Samuel Gompers—American Statesman, 105–106.
A Short History of New York State, 88–89.
Smith & Wesson Revolvers: The Pioneer Single Action Models, 210–211.
The South in the Revolution 1763–1789, 413–414.
Theodore Roosevelt, Vol. I: The Formative Years, 1858–1886, 421–423.
They All Chose America, 104–105.
The Vikings on Cape Cod: Evidence from archaeological discovery, 428.
The War for Independence: A Military History, 411.
The War of 1812 in the Old Northwest, 416–417.
When the World Ended: The Diary of Emma LeConte, 101–102.
William Page, the American Titian, 420–421.
William T. Porter and the Spirit of the Times, 98–100.
The Writing of American Jewish History . . ., 427.
Year Book of the (Collegiate) Reformed Protestant Dutch Church of the City of New York, Vol. XV (1955–1958), 428–431.
Bordley, John Beale, portraits by (repro.), 365.
Broadway, at 14th Street (illus.), 300; parade on (illus.), 304.
Brooklyn Bridge, cable collapse (illus.), 300.
Brown, Jacob J., portrait of (repro.), 395.
Browne, Rev. Henry J., *The Parish of St. Michael 1857–1957*, reviewed, 108–109.
"Bunker's Hill," 18th-c. caricature (repro.), 41.
Canals in the westward movement, book about, reviewed, 417–418.
Cantine, Peter, Jr., engraving of (repro.), 247.
Caricature(s), 18th-c. British, 39–46; of Gallatin, Genêt and Jefferson (repro.), 328.
Carman, Harry J., et al., *A Short History of New York State*, reviewed, 88–89.
Carosso, Vincent P., review by, 103–104.
"The Carrier Dove," music sheet cover (repro.), 57.
Casanova, Francesco Giuseppe, portrait by (repro.), 80.
"The Case of the Stuyvesant Portraits," by R. W. G. Vail, 171–204.
Castle Garden, Lafayette landing at (repro.), 11.
Central Park Plaza (illus.), 305.
Chairs, American, book about, reviewed, 312.
Chambrun, René Comte de, at Lafayette bicentennial (illus.), 83.
Child's funeral in the Italian quarter of New York (illus.), 300.
Childs, James B., review by, 415–416.
Church, unidentified, elevations by J. C. Lawrence (repro.), 298, 299.
City Hall, Wall Street (illus.), 147.
Civil War, books about, reviewed, 101–103, 208–209, 209–210.
Clinton, Sir Henry, engraving of (repro.), 27.
Colden, Cadwallader, portrait of (repro. of detail), 327.
Comstock, Helen, ed., *The Concise Encyclopedia of American Antiques*, reviewed, 424–425.
"The Commissioners," 18th-c. caricature (repro.), 46.
"The Concealed Enemy," painting by George Caleb Bingham (repro.), 67.
Coney Island, book about, reviewed, 213.
Coote, Richard (Earl of Bellomont), portrait of (repro.), 265.
"Counterfeiting in New York during the Revolution," by Kenneth Scott, 221–259.
Craven, Wesley Frank, *The Legend of the Founding Fathers*, reviewed, 97–98.
Crehen, C. E., lithograph by (repro.), 371.
Cuba, journey in 1852 to, described, 367–385; sugar plantation in (illus.), 377; a "volante" in (illus.), 375.
Cunningham, Noble E., Jr., *The Jeffersonian Republicans*, reviewed, 414–415.
"Cupid's Tower," 18th-c. caricature (repro.), 41.
Currency, Colonial (illus.), 226, 234, 235, 254; counterfeits of (illus.), 227, 249, 251, 255.
Curtiss-Robinson house (Southington, Conn.), illus., 403; addition of façade from, to Prentis Collection, 402–408; facade of (illus.), 407.
Czajkowska, Theresa A., review by, 108–109.

Dabney, William M., review by, 93.
" 'Dam'me Don't Stir a Man': Trial of New York Mutineers in 1700," edited by Lawrence H. Leder, 261–283.
Darly, Mrs. Mary, caricatures by, 39–46.
Davis, Moshe, and Isidore S. Meyer, eds., *The Writing of American Jewish History*, reviewed, 427.
Dawkins, Henry, counterfeit currency engraved by (illus.), 227.
"Dead Man's Curve," Broadway at 14th Street (illus.), 300.
DeBucourt, P. L., aquatint by (repro.), 4.
DePeyster, Abraham, portrait of (repro.), 283.
Dickinson, Anson, portraits by (repro.), 187.
Dock(s), at Hoboken, N.J., 307; at West Street, N.Y.C., 306.
Dodd, engraving by (repro.), 27.
Donck, G., painting by (repro.), 194.
Doney, T., engraving by (repro.), 64.
Durand, Asher Brown, portrait by (repro.), 201.
Durkin, J., drawing by (repro.), 300.
du Simitière, Pierre E., portraits by (repro.), 233.
Dutchess County, book about, reviewed, 107–108.
Duyckinck, Gerret, portrait by (repro.), 195.
"An 18th-Century Connecticut Valley Doorway Is Added to the Society's Prentis Collection," by Richard J. Koke, 402–408.
Elephant, broadside advertising America's first (repro.), 158.
Ellis, David M., et al., *A Short History of New York State*, reviewed, 88–89.
Encyclopedia of American antiques, reviewed, 424–425.
Erickson, Charlotte, *American Industry and the European Immigrant, 1865–1885*, reviewed, 103–104.
The Exchange, Broad Street (illus.), 151.
Ezequelle, Betty J., "James Crommelin Lawrence, Architect of St. Paul's Steeple, New York," 285–299; review by, 108.
Fagnani, Giuseppe, portrait by (repro.), 197.
Fort William Henry (N.Y.C.), detail from Miller's 1695 Plan of New York (illus.), 271.
Fosdick, L., drawing by (repro.), 308.
Fox, Louis H., "Pioneer Women's-Rights Magazine," 71–74.
Frantz, Joe B., review by, 89–91.
French Revolution, American press reports of, 329–348.
Frost, James A., et al., *A Short History of New York State*, reviewed, 88–89.
Fuller, George F., lith. from painting by (repro.), 380.
"Fur Traders Descending the Missouri," painting by George Caleb Bingham (repro.), 61.
Gaine, Hugh, currency printed by (illus.), 234, 235.
Gallatin, Albert, biography of, reviewed, 206–207.
"George Caleb Bingham and the American Art-Union," by John Francis McDermott, 60–69.
Giddings, T. H., "Rushing the Transatlantic News in the 1830s and 1840s," 47–59.
Gilpin, Alec R., *The War of 1812 in the Old Northwest*, reviewed 416–417.
Glover John, article about, 21–38; portrait of (repro.), 20.
Glover's Rock, Pelham Bay Park (illus.), 37.
Graham, C., drawing by (repro.), 300.
Gribayedeff, V., drawing by (repro.), 116.
Gross, Martin, review by, 213.
Hambridge, Jay, drawing by (repro.), 138.
Hamilton, Alexander, book about, reviewed, 91–93.
Hamilton, Milton W., "A New Portrait of Sir William Johnson," 317–327.
Hawley, Hughson, drawing by (repro.), 305.
Henry, Stuart C., *George Whitefield, Wayfaring Witness*, reviewed, 309–312.
Herring, James, portrait by (repro.), 395.
Heslin, James J., reviews by, 101–103, 208–210, 213–214.
Hibernia (steamship), newspaper announcement of arrival of (repro.), 55.
Hicks, Thomas, portrait by (repro.), 177.
Holland, John Joseph, watercolor by (repro.), 147.
Howe, Sir William, engraving of (repro.), 27.
Hutton (?), Isaac, engraving by (repro.), 247.
Hyslop, Beatrice F., "American Press Re-

ports of the French Revolution, 1789–1794," 329–348.
Irwin, Ray W., "The Stocking, Hood and Mockason Society of New York, 1814–1815," 387–401; reviews by, 416–417, 418–420.
Iverson, Marion Day, *The American Chair 1630–1890,* reviewed, 312.
"James Crommelin Lawrence, Architect of St. Paul's Steeple, New York," by Betty J. Ezequelle, 285–299.
Jarvis, John Wesley, portrait after (repro.), 395.
Jay, Mrs. Augustus, portrait of (repro.), 195.
Jay, John, portrait of (repro.), 233.
John Wiley and Sons, Inc., history of, noticed, 426.
Johnson, Sir William, article about new portrait of, 317–327; portraits of (repro.), 316, 318, 326.
"The Jolly Flatboatmen," painting by George Caleb Bingham (repro.), 64.
Jukes, Francis, engraving by (repro.), 353.
Kean, Robert Garlick Hill, diary of, reviewed, 101–103.
Kelly, James Edward, drawing by (repro.), 308.
Ketchum, Richard M., *The American Heritage Book of Great Historic Places,* reviewed, 211–212.
Kienbusch, C. Otto v., review by, 98–100.
Kimball, LeRoy E., address by, at presentation of NYHS Gold Medal, 85–87; at Lafayette bicentennial (illus.), 83; with Philippe Comte de Lafayette (illus.), 84.
King Philip's War, book about, reviewed, 410–411.
Kirk, Grayson, "The Marquis de Lafayette," 5–19; at Lafayette bicentennial (illus.), 83.
Knives, American, book about, reviewed, 425–426.
Koke, Richard J., "An 18th-Century Connecticut Valley Doorway Is Added to the Society's Prentis Collection," 402–408; "A New York Milestone-Cutter Is Identified," 78–79; " '10 Miles from N. York,' The Resurrection of an Old Milestone from the Kingsbridge Road," 75–78; reviews by, 94–96, 107–108, 109–110, 411, 425–426.
"La Amistad," sugar plantation in Cuba (illus.), 377.
Lafayette, Marquis de, article about, 5–19; at "Woodlawn" (illus.), 363; château of, on Staffordshire platter (illus.), 15; celebration by NYHS of bicentennial of birth of, 81–84; draft of speech of (repro.), 13; landing at Castle Garden (illus.), 11; NYHS certificate of membership of (repro.), 12; portraits of (repro.), 4, 80.
Lafayette, Philippe Comte de, with Dr. Kimball (illus.), 84.
"La Grange," Lafayette's château (illus.), 15.
LaPlante, Edward, lith. from painting by (repro.), 377.
Larson, Harold, review by, 91–93.
Lawrence, James Crommelin, article about, 285–299; drawings by (repro.), 287, 290, 291, 298, 299.
Leach, Douglas Edward, *Flintlock and Tomahawk . . .,* reviewed, 410–411.
LeConte, Emma, diary of, reviewed, 101–102.
Leder, Lawrence H., ed., " 'Dam'me Don't Stir a Man': Trial of New York Mutineers in 1700," 261–283.
Lee, Gen. Charles, biography of, reviewed, 411–413.
Lehman, George, lithograph by (repro.), 359.
LeRoy, Daniel, portrait of (repro.), 195.
Lewis, Lawrence, portrait of (repro.), 365; with Lafayette at "Woodlawn" (illus.), 363.
Lewis, Mrs. Lawrence (Eleanor Parke Custis), portrait of (repro.), 365.
Lewis, Mrs. Morgan, miniature of (repro.), 395.
The Lily, article about file (1849–1856) of, 71–74; page one of Vol. I (repro.), 70.
Little, Nina Fletcher, *The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection . . .,* reviewed, 106–107.
Livingston, Robert (1654–1728), portrait of (repro.), 283.
Maass, John, *The Gingerbread Age: A View of Victorian America,* reviewed, 108.
McClung, Robert M., and Gale S. McClung, "Tammany's Remarkable Gardiner Baker," 143–169.
MacCracken, Henry Noble, *Old Dutchess Forever! . . .,* reviewed, 107–108.
McCullough, Edo, *Good Old Coney Island,* reviewed, 213–214.

McDermott, John Francis, "George Caleb Bingham and the American Art-Union," 60–69.
McHugh, Thomas J., review by, 210–211.
McIlworth, Thomas, portraits by (repro.), 198; portrait after (repro.), 318, 326.
McKelvey, Blake, review by, 417–418.
McMahon, Susan D., "The Society's Celebration of the Bicentennial of Lafayette's Birth," 81–84.
Madison Square (illus.), 303.
Maisel, Albert Q., *They All Chose America*, reviewed, 104–105.
Maps: Miller's 1695 Plan of New York, 260, 271 (detail of Fort); Westchester County showing armies' positions (Oct. 1776), 24.
Marandal, R. de, portrait by (repro.), 196.
Marquier, L., lith. by (repro.), 377.
"The Marquis de Lafayette," by Grayson Kirk, 5–19.
Mather, Frank Jewett, Jr., *Charles Herbert Moore, Landscape Painter*, reviewed, 207–208.
Matteson, David Maydole, ed., *Index to the Writings on American History 1902–1940*, reviewed, 110.
Meyer, Isidore S., and Moshe Davis, eds., *The Writing of American Jewish History . . .*, reviewed, 427.
Miers, Earl Schenck, ed., *When the World Ended: The Diary of Emma LeConte*, reviewed, 101–103.
Milestone, 10th, article about, 75–78, illus., 75; 15th, stonecutter of, 78–79.
Miller, John, 1695 Plan of New York City by (repro.), 260; detail of Fort from (repro.), 271.
Mills, Robert, architect of Washington Monument (illus.), 371.
Miniatures, New England, catalogue of, reviewed, 427–428.
"Miss Carolina Sulivan," 18th-c. caricature (repro.), 42.
Mississippi steamboat race (illus.), 380.
Mitchell, Broadus, *Alexander Hamilton: Youth to Maturity, 1755–1788*, reviewed, 91–93.
Mizwa, Stephen P., review by, 104–105.
Moore, Charles Herbert, book about, reviewed, 207–208.
Moore, Clement Clarke, biography of, reviewed, 100–101.
Morgan, Edmund S., *The Puritan Dilemma, The Story of John Winthrop*, reviewed, 409–410.
Morris, Gouverneur, portrait of (repro.), 233.
Morris, James O., review by, 105–106.
Mount Vernon, visits in 1801 and 1823 to, 349–365; in 1800 (illus.), 353; tomb of Washington at (illus.), 359.
Mulberry Street, police headquarters on (illus.), 132.
Murray, John Robert, lithograph by (repro.), 363.
Mutineers, trial of, in 1700, 261–283.
Nashville, Tenn., *c.* 1851 (illus.), 382.
Nast, Thomas, first drawing by (repro.), 307.
"A New Portrait of Sir William Johnson," by Milton W. Hamilton, 317–327.
"New York in the Illustrated Weeklies," by Frank Weitenkampf, 301–308.
New York City
Articles: architect of, 285–299; as depicted in illustrated weeklies, 301–308; counterfeiting in, during the Revolution, 221–259; first museum in, 143–169; milestone (tenth) of, 75–78; milestone-cutter of, 78–79; Theodore Roosevelt as Police Commissioner of, 117–141; trial of mutineers (1700) in, 261–283; women's relief society (1814–15) in, 387–401.
Book Reviews: 108–109, 209–210, 213–214, 428–431.
Views, maps, etc.: Alms House, 169 (Old), 296 (New); American Museum, 296; The Battery, 153; Broadway at 14th Street, 300; Broadway parade in honor of Grand Duke Alexis, 304; Brooklyn Bridge cable collapse, 300; Central Park Plaza, 305; City Hall (old), 147; The Exchange, Broad Street, 151; Fort William Henry, 271; funeral in Italian quarter, 300; Lafayette landing at Castle Garden, 11; Madison Square, 303; John Miller's Plan of New York, 260, 271 (detail); Mulberry Street police headquarters, 132; New York Harbor, 57; New York Hospital, 287; New York Institute, 169; Riverside Drive cyclists, 302; St. Paul's Chapel, 284; St. Paul's Steeple, 290, 291; tenth milestone, 75; West Street docks, 306.

New-York Historical Society: 18th-c. doorway added to Prentis Collection of, 402–408; Gold Medal awarded by, 85–87; Gold Medal of (illus.), 85; Lafayette bicentennial celebration at, 81–84; Lafayette's certificate of membership in (repro.), 12; Lafayette's draft of acceptance speech to (illus.), 13.
New York Hospital, front view of (illus.), 287.
New York Institute (illus.), 169.
"A New York Milestone-Cutter Is Identified," by Richard J. Koke, 78–79.
New York State: battle of Pelham Bay (1776) in, 21–38; books about, reviewed, 88–89, 107–108.
"Noddle Island," 18th-c. caricature (repro.), 42.
"Oh-Heigh-Ho," 18th-c. caricature (repro.), 39.
"Our Friendly Enemies: The Pro-American Caricatures of a London Woman Printseller of 1776–1778," by R. W. G. Vail, 39–46.
Ourden, C., engraving by (repro.), 53.
Page, William, book about, reviewed, 420–421.
Parade in honor of Grand Duke Alexis (illus.), 304.
Parsons, John E. (1829–1915), journal and letters of, describing 1852 journey to Cuba, 367–385; passport of (illus.), 366.
Parsons, John E., ed., "Through the Atlantic States to Cuba in 1852: Excerpts from the Journal and Letters of John E. Parsons," 367–385; *Smith & Wesson Revolvers: The Pioneer Single Action Models*, reviewed, 210–211.
Patterson, Samuel White, *Knight Errant of Liberty: . . . General Charles Lee*, reviewed, 411–413; *The Poet of Christmas Eve: A Life of Clement Clarke Moore . . .*, reviewed, 100–101.
Paulson, Peter J., review by, 413–414.
Peale, Charles Willson, portrait by (repro.), 351.
Peare, Catherine Owens, review by, 205–206.
Peckham, Howard H., *The War For Independence: A Military History*, reviewed, 411.
"Pelham Bay: A Forgotten Battle," by George A. Billias, 21–38.
Peterson, Harold L., *American Knives . . .*, reviewed, 425–426.
Pintard, John, account of visit to Mt. Vernon in diary of, 349–353; miniature of (repro.), 349.
"Pioneer Women's-Rights Magazine," by Louis H. Fox, 71–74.
Pohl, Frederick J., *The Vikings on Cape Cod*, notice, 428.
Police badges (illus.), 125.
Police Commissioners' Board (N.Y.C.), 1895 (illus.), 116.
Police headquarters, Mulberry Street (illus.), 132.
Policeman on bicycle (illus.), 138.
Porter, William T., book about, reviewed, 98–100.
Powell, J. H., *The Books of a New Nation . . .*, reviewed, 415–416.
Pratt, Matthew, article attributing new portrait to, 317–327; portrait attrib. to (repro.), 316, 326; portraits by (repro. of details), 327.
Prentis Collection, addition of 18th-c. doorway to, 402–408.
Press, American, articles on, 47–49, 329–348.
Putnam, Carleton, *Theodore Roosevelt, Volume One . . .*, reviewed, 421–423.
Ramage, John, miniature by (repro.), 349.
Rankin, Hugh F., and George F. Scheer, *Rebels and Redcoats*, reviewed, 96.
Reed, Joseph, book about, reviewed, 94–96.
Revolvers, Smith & Wesson, book about, reviewed, 210–211.
Riis, Jacob A., portrait of (repro.), 121.
Ritchie, A. H., engraving by (repro.), 27.
Riverside Drive, American Wheelmen's League on (illus.), 302.
Robertson, Alexander, engr. of drawing by (repro.), 353.
Robertson, Archibald, detail from print by (repro.), 153.
Robinson, H. R., lithograph by (repro.), 49.
Roche, John F., *Joseph Reed: A Moderate in the American Revolution*, reviewed, 94–96.
Rockefeller Folk-Art Collection, catalogue of, reviewed, 106–107.
Rogers, W. A., drawings by (repro.), 300.
Rollinson, William, engraving by (repro.), 287.
Romig, Edgar F., ed., *Year Book of the (Collegiate) Protestant Church of the City of New York, Vol. XV (1955–*

1958), reviewed, 428–431; review by, 309–312.
Roosevelt, Theodore, as police commissioner, 117–141; biography of, reviewed, 421–423; portrait of (repro.), 121.
"Rushing the Transatlantic News in the 1830s and 1840s," by T. H. Giddings, 47–59.
Sagamore Hill, Oyster Bay, L.I., (illus.), 135.
St. Paul's Chapel (illus.), 284; article about architect of steeple of, 285–299; plans of steeple of (repro.), 290, 291.
Scheer, George F., and Hugh F. Rankin, *Rebels and Redcoats*, reviewed, 96.
Scoles, John, engraving by (repro.), 284.
Scoon, Carolyn, reviews by, 106–107, 207–208, 312.
Scott, Kenneth, "Counterfeiting in New York during the Revolution," 221–259.
Shearer, Dr. Alexander, portrait of (repro. of detail), 327.
Sirius (British steamship), arrival of (illus.), 49.
Smith, Bradford, review by, 409–410.
Smith, J. R., lith. from drawing by (repro.), 359.
Smith, Melancton, portrait of (repro.), 247.
"The Society's Celebration of the Bicentennial of Lafayette's Birth," by Susan D. McMahon, 81–84.
Split Rock, Pelham Bay Park (illus.), 31.
Split Rock Road, Pelham Bay Park (illus.), 30.
Staffordshire platter showing Lafayette's château (illus.), 15.
Staigg, Richard Morell, portrait by (repro.), 199.
Stansbury, Arthur J., watercolor by (repro.), 296.
Steamboat race on the Mississippi River (illus.), 380.
Sterling, David L., review by, 414–415.
"The Stocking, Hood and Mockason Society of New York, 1814–1815," by Ray W. Irwin, 387–401; subscription list of (repro.), 386.
Streeter, Thomas W., NYHS Gold Medal awarded to, 85–87; with his family (illus.), 86.
Stuart, Gilbert, portrait by (repro.), 203.
Stuyvesant, Augustus Van Horne, Sr., portraits of (repro.), 174, 196.
Stuyvesant, Mrs. Augustus Van Horne, Sr., portraits of (repro.), 174, 197.
Stuyvesant, Mrs. Balthazar Jonannes, portrait of Anne of Austria erroneously identified as (repro.), 179.
Stuyvesant, Gerard (1805–1859), portrait of (repro.), 177; group portrait of family of (repro.), 172.
Stuyvesant, Mrs. Gerard, painting by (repro.), 181; portrait of (repro.), 199.
Stuyvesant, Gerardus (1690–1777), portrait of (repro.), 198.
Stuyvesant, Nicholas William (1648–1698), portrait of (repro.), 200.
Stuyvesant, Nicholas William (1722–1780), portrait of (repro.), 198.
Stuyvesant, Nicholas William (1769–1833), portrait of (repro.), 201.
Stuyvesant, Mrs. Nicholas William (1775–1862), portrait of (repro.), 201.
Stuyvesant, Peter (1796–1860), portrait of (repro.), 199.
Stuyvesant, Peter Gerard (1778–1847), miniature of (repro.), 204.
Stuyvesant, Gov. Petrus (1592–1672), portrait of (repro.), 170.
Stuyvesant, Mrs. Petrus (?–1687), portrait erroneously identified as (repro.), 179.
Stuyvesant, Petrus (1727–1805), portrait of (repro.), 203.
Stuyvesant, Mrs. Petrus (1738–1818), portrait of (repro.), 203.
Stuyvesant family portraits, article on and checklist of, 171–204.
Summers, Festus P., ed., *The Cabinet Diary of William L. Wilson, 1896–1897*, reviewed, 423–424.
Syrett, Harold C., et al., *A Short History of New York State*, reviewed, 88–89.
"Tammany's Remarkable Gardiner Baker," by Robert M. and Gale S. McClung, 143–169.
Taylor, Joshua C., *William Page, the American Titian*, reviewed, 420–421.
"'10 Miles from N. York,' The Resurrection of an Old Milestone from the Kingsbridge Road," by Richard J. Koke, 75–78.
"Theodore Roosevelt as Police Commissioner," by Avery Delano Andrews, 117–141.
Thorne, Florence Calvert, *Samuel Gompers—American Statesman*, reviewed, 105–106.
"Through the Atlantic States to Cuba in

1852: Excerpts from the Journal and Letters of John E. Parsons," 367–385.
Tilden, Freeman, *Interpreting Our Heritage: . . . Visitor Services in Parks, Museums, and Historic Places,* reviewed, 109–110.
"The Times: A Political Portrait," 1794 caricature (repro.), 328.
"The Treasurer, Dr. Thomas W. Streeter, Receives the Gold Medal for Distinguished Service," address by Dr. LeRoy E. Kimball, 85–87.
Trumbull, John, portraits by (repro.), 20, 185.
"The Trumpeter," painting by Susan Rivington Stuyvesant (repro.), 181.
"Two Early Visitors to Mount Vernon," by R. W. G. Vail, 349–365.
Uhlendorf, Bernhard A., ed., *Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals, 1776–1784, of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces,* reviewed, 93.
U. S. Government publications, book about, reviewed, 415–416.
U. S. Senate Chamber (1852), plan of (repro.), 369.
Vail, R. W. G., "The Case of the Stuyvesant Portraits," 171–204; "Our Friendly Enemies: The Pro-American Caricatures of a London Woman Printseller of 1776–1778," 39–46; "Two Early Visitors to Mount Vernon," 349–365; reviews by, 100–101, 421–423.
Van Horne, Augustus Cornelius, silhouette of (repro.), 204.
"View of New York . . . from North River," detail from (repro.), 153.
Waggoner, Madeline Sadler, *The Long Haul West . . .*, reviewed, 417–418.
Walker, Capt. Kenneth R., review by, 423–424.
Walters, Raymond, Jr., *Albert Gallatin . . .*, reviewed, 206–207.
War of 1812, article on New York ladies' relief society during, 387–401; book about, reviewed, 416–417.
Washington, George, portrait of (repro.), 351; tomb of (illus.), 359.
Washington Monument, design for (illus.), 371.
"Watching the Cargo," painting by George Caleb Bingham (repro.), 63.
Waud, A. R., drawing by (repro.), 306.
Webb, James W., portrait of (repro.), 53.
Weitenkampf, Frank, "New York in the Illustrated Weeklies," 301–308; portrait sketch of (repro.), 308.
Welden, C. D., drawing by (repro.), 302.
Werstein, Irving, *July 1863,* reviewed, 209–210.
West, Richard S., Jr., *Mr. Lincoln's Navy,* reviewed, 208–209.
West Street docks (illus.), 306.
Westchester County, battle of Pelham Bay in, 21–38; map of armies' positions (Oct. 1776) in, 24.
Wheeler, Robert G., review by, 211–212.
White, Philip L., *The Beekmans of New York in Politics and Commerce 1647–1877,* reviewed, 89–91; ed., *The Beekman Mercantile Papers,* reviewed, 89–91.
Whitefield, George, biography of, reviewed, 309–312.
Wickes, Forsyth, at Lafayette bicentennial (illus.), 83.
Willcox, William B., review by, 411–413.
Willging, Eugene P., ed., *Catholic Life Annual 1958,* reviewed, 108–109.
Williams, Alyn, portrait by (repro.), 196.
Williams, Roger, biography of, reviewed, 205–206.
Wilson, William L., Cabinet diary of, reviewed, 423–424.
Winslow, Ola Elizabeth, *Master Roger Williams: A Biography,* reviewed, 205–206; review by, 410–411.
Winthrop, John, biography of, reviewed, 409–410.
Wollaston, John, portrait by (repro.), 318, 326.
Women's rights magazine, article on, 71–74.
"Woodlawn," estate of Lawrence Lewis (illus.), 363.
Wright, F. W., portrait by (repro.), 283.
Yates, Norris W., *William T. Porter and the Spirit of the Times,* reviewed, 98–100.
Younger, Edward, ed., *Inside Confederate Government: The Diary of Robert Garlick Hill Kean,* reviewed, 101–103.
Zuricher, John, milestone-cutter, 78–79.

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